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ABSTRACT

This document describes efforts to educate inner city adults in Liverpool, England, since 1969. The prologue describes two approaches (the university settlement approach and the community development approach) historically used to provide education to inner-city adults. It also reports the feeling in Britain by 1969 that a nation of Britain's affluence at that time was obligated to use education to help those classified as disadvantaged. The second chapter describes adult education in Liverpool during the 1970s and includes the work of the settlements; use of the community development approach in Liverpool; the designation of the inner city as an educational priority area; the reasons for a breakdown in relations among education administrators; the inner area study that was conducted by Liverpool City Council, Merseyside County Council, and the Department of the Environment; a course, called Second Chance to Learn, for working class men and women who had left school as early as legally possible; and an adult literacy project. The third chapter describes what happened to adult education in Liverpool during the 1980s and includes university adult education, the workers' educational association, the local education authority, the Second Chance to Learn project, writers' workshops, and a personal comment about community education's blending of social work and adult education. Notes on each chapter and an index conclude the document. (CML)

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Manchester City Adult Education The Learning Experience

Thomas Kelly



Manchester Monographs

The centre for adult and higher education.
University of Manchester

Inner City Adult Education: the Liverpool Experience

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Adult Education
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PREFACE

Inner city adult education has long been recognized as a difficult field. In the last three decades determined attempts to tackle it have been made in several cities, but I doubt whether any city has seen so many and such various assaults on the problem as Liverpool, especially during the eight years which began with the launching of the Educational Priority Area in 1969. Inner city projects under way at this time, all concerned in greater or less degree with adult education, involved three Government Departments (Education, Home Office and Environment), the Liverpool Education Authority, the University, and several voluntary organizations (especially the Workers' Educational Association and the University Settlement).

In what follows I have attempted to put on record the tangled story of these various enterprises, in some of which I was myself directly involved, and to assess their impact in terms of adult educational activity today. I have done so partly for my own satisfaction, and partly in the hope that some future historian may find this record of some value.

In preparing the account I have drawn on my own recollections, and printed and unprinted monographs and reports, and on the help of friends and colleagues too numerous to mention. I do, however, feel under a particular obligation to Mr. Peter Rowley, Librarian of the University Department of Continuing Education, for his help in procuring relevant material. Others to whom I owe special thanks are Mr. Adrian Allan of the University Archives Department; Mrs. Margaret Ben-Tovim of the Sandown College of Further Education; Mr. Neville Carrick, Liverpool City Librarian; Mr. David Connor of the Workers' Educational Association; Mr. E.W. Davis of the Liverpool Education Authority; Mr. David Evans of the University Department of Continuing Education; Professor Tom Lovett of the University of Ulster; Mr. R.J. Lorimer of the Independent Broadcasting Authority; Dr. Eric Midwinter, Director of the Centre for Policy on Ageing; Emeritus Professor Edwin Rhodes, formerly head of the University Institute of Extension Studies; Dr. Michael Rose of Manchester University; and Miss Janet Smith of the Liverpool Record Office.

I must also acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Bernard Jennings of the University of Hull. He bears no responsibility for what I have written, but his survey *The Education of Adults in Britain: A Study of Organization, Finance*

and Policy (Hull 1985) has been an invaluable guide to the wider national picture, which in recent years has been subject to so many and such confusing changes.

Thomas Kelly

Keswick, July 1987

I must now add my thanks to Mr. Arthur Stock, retiring Director of the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, for his encouragement and support; and to Mr. Robert Armstrong, Director of the Centre for Higher and Adult Education at Manchester University, which has kindly undertaken publication of this essay. I have taken the opportunity to make a few minor corrections and updatings, but substantially the narrative represents the position at it stood, to the best of my knowledge, at the close of the session 1986-87.

T. K.

Keswick, February 1988

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I PROLOGUE

THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT APPROACH

One of the most intractable problems facing adult educationists has always been to provide for the needs of the poorer and least educated members of society, in particular that third or so of the working population which is made up of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Even organizations which have come into existence primarily to provide for the working classes – organizations such as the Mechanics' Institutes, the Working Men's Colleges, the London Men's Institutes, and the Workers' Educational Association – have found it difficult to attract this group, and have tended to find themselves catering increasingly, as time has gone on, for students higher in the social scale.

Looking back over the history of adult education, however, we can see one significant exception to this general rule. Classes in literacy and what we now call basic education did bring a response – often an enthusiastic response – from the labouring poor. In the eighteenth century this was true of the literacy teaching offered by the Welsh Circulating Schools; in the nineteenth century it was likewise true of the work done by the Adult Schools and by the elementary classes (reading, writing and arithmetic) provided by some Mechanics' Institutes. Nearer our own time, in the inner city areas of our great cities, the university settlements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries showed that adult education even beyond the basic level could be effective when it was linked with social concern and social action.

In view of more modern developments, the linking of education and social welfare in the work of the university settlements is of particular interest. The settlement movement owed much in its origins to the ideas of Frederick Denison Maurice and the Christian Socialists: essentially it was a movement of Christian service to the poor. The small colonies of university men (or women) who took up residence together in the slums of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester and other cities sought to create a fellowship with their poorer neighbours, to become their friends, to partake of their joys and sorrows, and to help in the improvement and enrichment of their lives.¹ The first settlement was established by a group from Oxford University, at Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, in 1884.

Unfortunately, we have no general history of this movement, and few histories even of individual settlements, but it is worth pausing to look briefly at some of the ideas and developments of the earlier years.² Toynbee Hall is the best documented.³ Its inspirer and first warden, Rev. Samuel Barnett, placed the primary emphasis on education, which he believed to be a necessary precondition of social reform. In 1883 he wrote:

"Inquiries into social conditions lead generally to one conclusion. They show that little can be done *for*, which is not done *with* the people. It is the poverty of their own life which makes the poor content to inhabit uninhabitable houses It is the same poverty of life which makes so many careless of cleanliness, listless about the unhealthy condition of their workshops, and heedless of anything beyond the enjoyment of a moment's excitement. Such poverty can best be removed by contact with those who possess the means of a higher life."

Ten years later Barnett was still of the same opinion:

"The social problem is at root an educational one, and they who have been concerned at Toynbee Hall to raise the standard of living have been driven to develop educational schemes They realised that no secure position would be won until people were educated to win it for themselves Here then is the reason for the classes."⁴

The educational programme developed at Toynbee was indeed impressive. By the end of the century it included everything from basic education (e.g. writing, arithmetic, first aid) to courses at a high academic level (e.g. Latin, Greek and Hebrew, geology, botany and anatomy, English and European literature). University extension courses were a regular feature, and there were also concerts and annual art exhibitions. Inevitably such a programme tended to draw largely on an intellectual élite, including many students from outside the area. In 1888 the majority were, as Briggs and Macartney note, "schoolmasters, schoolmistresses and clerks - a familiar clientèle in the history of adult education."⁵

Barnett was not dismayed. It was, he thought, right that Toynbee should appeal "to the best working men and women, leaving it in their hands to transmit ideas worth preserving to those whose habits and thoughts are less in accord with our own."⁶

This recognition of the problem of communicating with the uncultivated mind is reinforced by a later comment:

"No doubt good work can be and has been done by direct contact with the classes holding the lowest moral standards, but there is a disregard of economy of labour in such dealings, and vitality seems to pass out of the worker so quickly without a corresponding gain."⁷

The Manchester University Settlement, founded in Ancoats in 1895, achieved a better balance in its activities. Initially it was, as its historian Mary Stocks records, "primarily an educational settlement", very much in the Toynbee mould,⁸ but experience led to a reorientation of ideas:

"As missionaries of the magic of art, the significance of history, the wonders of science and the beauty of nature, its workers found themselves increasingly preoccupied with attempts to straighten out the bodies of those whose minds they were cultivating, and reorder an economic environment which was clearly inimical to the increase of spiritual and mental perception."⁹

Education, in short must march hand in hand with social welfare.

Information concerning the twentieth-century development of settlements is sparse. They continued on their quiet and self-sacrificing way, too busy with day-to-day problems to write histories, too poor to publish them. After the Second World War it must have seemed to many that the settlement approach was outdated, a relic of Victorian philanthropy. But the fundamental ideas which had inspired their origins still persisted. In the event the settlements, united since 1920 in what was originally the Federation of Settlements and later became the British Association of Residential Settlements,¹⁰ survived to play an active role in a new assault on this very difficult area of work which developed during the 'sixties and 'seventies.

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

In the meantime, in the late 1940s, a number of organizations interested in adult education and social welfare began to experiment with the approach known as "community development." This was a name invented in British colonial circles just after the Second World War, and subsequently adopted by the United Nations, for a process long familiar in British dependent territories and in North America. It has been defined in many different ways (often at considerable length) but may be simply described as helping the people of backward communities to help themselves.

This approach was first developed in work with backward rural communities, for instance by providing instruction in agricultural techniques, and by assisting in the formation of cooperatives for buying and marketing. The results were often impressive: the transformation wrought, between the wars,

among the poor farming and fishing communities of Nova Scotia, by the pioneering efforts of the University of St Francis Xavier of Antigonish, is a famous example.¹¹ There was, of course, an educational element in such work. For the setting-up of a cooperative, for instance, it was necessary to acquire information, and experience, concerning management and marketing techniques, accounting, and so forth. In general, however, the need for information was subordinate to the need for social action. At a later stage, especially in the United States, similar techniques began to be adopted in urban areas, in relation to a wide range of social and environmental problems.¹²

To British social and educational workers these latter experiments were very significant, for in Britain, as in the United States, it is of course in the urban areas, and particularly in the inner areas of the big cities, that we find the highest concentration of the socially and educationally deprived. It is here especially that we find the poor, the sick, the old, the housebound, the unemployed, the physically or mentally handicapped, the illiterate, the non-English speaking immigrants. Many suffer multiple deprivations, with poverty, sickness, poor housing, and perhaps physical or mental handicap, reinforcing each other and combining to make a decent standard of life all but impossible. The rehousing of inner city dwellers in large new estates on the outer edge of the built-up area may have provided a better physical environment, but did little to solve the underlying problems; and rehousing in multi-storey flats nearer the centre created a whole range of new problems.

In Britain a pioneering role in the use of community development techniques was played by the National Council of Social Service. Between the wars, both nationally and through its area councils, this body had done much to promote the establishment of village halls in rural areas and community centres in new urban housing estates. In the post-war years the London Council of Social Service, with financial assistance from the London County Council, turned its attention to the needs of inner London flat-dwellers. It encouraged the creation of tenants' or residents' associations, and helped them to procure accommodation, and to develop social, recreational and welfare programmes suitable to their special needs (often with special attention to the problems of the elderly and of mothers with young children). By 1957, after eight years' experience, it was possible to bring representatives of the various groups together in a standing committee, subsequently known as the Association of London Housing Estates, which quickly developed a valuable advisory and consultative role. The Council of Social Service provided secretarial help, and continued to give unobtrusive assistance in other ways.

A report by G.W. Goetschius, commissioned by the Council in 1960, and published in 1969, reviewed the results of this experiment, and examined the methodological problems involved.¹³ Goetschius noted, *inter alia*, that few group programmes included cultural activities, and suggested that the

introduction of "explicitly adult educational activities" might be considered. He also made it clear, however, that any attempt to impose programmes from outside might provoke resistance.¹⁴ "The workers soon discovered," he remarks in his introduction, "that if they were to be of real help it had to be on the group's terms and not on theirs."¹⁵ As Canon Barnett had said long before: "little can be done *for*, which is not done *with*, the people."¹⁶ In his concluding section Goetschius puts this observation into more academic form:

"... the primary objective of the community development approach is to enable the group itself, at its own pace and in its own way, to accept responsibility."¹⁷

STIRRINGS OF CONSCIENCE

By this time there was growing concern, not only among voluntary bodies but also in central and local government circles, regarding the areas of severe deprivation which had somehow survived in what had seemed in the early 'sixties an increasingly affluent society.

The problems of deprivation were not, of course, limited to Britain: they were, in various forms and in varying degrees, world-wide. The Final Report of the Third International Conference on Adult Education, held in Tokyo in 1972, put the matter starkly:

"The widening gap between nations, groups and individuals constitutes the greatest moral challenge of our time. To close the gap is more than a question of social justice. In an era of ever-growing interdependence between countries and of increasing human wants, it is an economic imperative and a condition of world peace."

Naturally such a conference did not fail to draw the moral regarding education, especially adult education:

"Apathy, poverty, disease and hunger are the major evils facing the world today. They can be eradicated only by making people aware of what causes them and how to conquer them. Social improvement and adult education are thus complementary."

Dr John Lowe, reviewing the major themes of the Tokyo conference, writes:

"Throughout the conference one theme seemed almost to obsess the

delegates, namely the education of the disadvantaged.¹⁸ Irrespective of their political ideologies, the technologically advanced and the industrially backward countries alike testified that the overwhelming majority of their populations were not participating in adult education and that this same majority mainly comprised the socially and economically deprived. In the challenging words of the *Final Report*:

'Experience shows that the provision of more education in most countries tends to favour the already well educated; the educationally underprivileged have yet to claim their rights. Adult education is no exception to the rule, for those adults who most need education have been largely neglected – *they are the forgotten people*. Thus, the major task of adult education during the Second Development Decade of the United Nations is to seek out and serve these forgotten people.'¹⁹

In Britain, as we shall see when we come to deal in more detail with developments in Liverpool, successive Governments from the late '60s onwards mounted several major projects to assist the deprived areas, e.g. Urban Aid, Educational Priority Areas, Community Development Projects, Inner Area Studies. All these envisaged improvements in education, but adult education remained, as ever, a somewhat marginal activity. In 1969 the Government did indeed establish a committee of inquiry, under the chairmanship of Sir Lionel Russell, to review the existing provision of adult education and

"to make recommendations with a view to obtaining the most effective and economical deployment of available resources to enable adult education to make its proper contribution to the national system of education conceived of as a process continuing through life."²⁰

In spite of the concluding bow to lifelong education these terms of reference seem directed more towards economy than towards expansion. Economy was, in fact already the order of the day. In its report to the Tokyo Conference on developments between 1960 and 1970, the Department of Education and Science noted that in the last few years, which had been a period of financial stringency in all public expenditure, adult education had suffered some restriction. In particular, since 1967, following on the Department's Administrative Memorandum 15/67 of that year, there had been a general increase in class fees, and very steep increases in some local authority areas.²¹

After four years' gestation the Russell Committee did produce proposals for a substantial expansion of adult education, especially for all those now collectively classified as "disadvantaged."²²

The recommendations concerning this group were not revolutionary, but they did usefully gather together, and reinforce, the initiatives already taken

by a great variety of organizations, voluntary and official. Significantly the W.E.A. was charged to give "particular attention" to "education for the social[ly] and culturally deprived living in urban areas."

The Government did not receive the report with any great enthusiasm, or show much disposition to implement its recommendations.²³ None the less the report did by its mere existence exercise a considerable influence on educational thinking. It set goals at which officials of central government, local government, and voluntary bodies could all aim, and standards by which new proposals could be measured. It made it easier, for example, to secure financial support for developments which the Report had recommended, e.g. in work with the disadvantaged.

Even before the Report was published, however, one serious problem of disadvantage to which it referred had already become the focus of considerable public attention. This was the long ignored problem of illiteracy. As late as 1964 most people would have agreed with the Government's reply to a UNESCO inquiry:

"Full-time education is compulsory between the ages of 5 and 15 and the incidence of adult illiteracy is therefore very small ... some instances are occasionally found in prisons and borstals and in the armed service, as well as among immigrants; cases of semi-literacy are rather more common."²⁴

The credit for alerting the country to the real extent of illiteracy is due in no small measure to the settlement movement, and especially to the Cambridge House Settlement in South London. It was workers at this Settlement who in 1964 and the years following, with strong support and collaboration from the Inner London Education Authority, pioneered in this country the system of personal one-to-one teaching of illiterates, by voluntary tutors. This was a real breakthrough, because as the Settlement had discovered, many adult illiterates were far too ashamed and embarrassed to enrol for class teaching. The use of voluntary tutors was not only economical, but provided many people with a welcome opportunity for voluntary service. The movement quickly gathered momentum, especially in the London area, where Cambridge House helped to train some hundreds of tutors.²⁵

Other cities also took up the challenge. In Liverpool and Birmingham the Settlements played a notable role. It was now realized that although only a small number of people are completely illiterate, a much larger number of people were "functionally" illiterate, i.e. insufficiently literate to function adequately as citizens and workers in modern society. In 1973 the British Association of Settlements, at a conference preparatory to launching a national Right to Read Campaign, put the number of people in this category as at least two million, and called on the Government to take firm action to

eradicate the evil.²⁶ The B.B.C., which was already actively considering the possibility of literacy education, at once promised its cooperation.²⁷

It came as a surprise to many when Harold Wilson's Labour Government, despite its severe economic and financial problems, responded to public concern by announcing a grant for £1 million for the year 1975-76 to support a campaign for literacy education, to be organized by local education authorities and voluntary bodies, and to be financed through an Adult Literacy Resource Agency under the aegis of the National Institute of Adult Education.²⁸ This grant, subsequently renewed for two further years, became the starting-point for a wider scheme of basic education which is still in operation. This is matter we shall touch on again later. First, however, let us turn to developments in Liverpool.

II SOME LIVERPOOL EXPERIMENTS

THE WORK OF THE SETTLEMENTS

Liverpool had two Settlements – the Victoria Settlement for Women and the University Settlement. Both were closely associated with the University, though only the University Settlement had a formal connection. The Victoria Settlement was established first, in a working-class area of Everton in North Liverpool. The University Settlement was founded in 1906, in a dockland area of South Liverpool, and until 1946 was for men. The objectives of the resident members of both Settlements were very similar – to make friends with the local people, to understand and if possible relieve their problems, and to provide facilities for the training of social workers. In neither case was adult education a major aim: it just developed out of other Settlement activities.

For the University Settlement we are fortunate in having a full account of the years to 1937.¹ At that period its activities included inquiries into local social problems; the promotion of welfare schemes (a children's care committee, a maternity centre, an ante-natal clinic, a dental clinic, a poor man's lawyer, a parents' educational adviser); and a great deal of club work.

There were clubs for men, for boys, for women and for girls, and a special effort was made to recruit "the poorer section of the working classes", including the dockers.² In the 'twenties, when there were several boys' clubs, some of them were formed from the street gangs of the neighbourhood. It was recognized that people from such a background were likely to be indifferent or hostile to further education, but they were encouraged to participate in the excellent social and recreational facilities which the clubs offered. It was hoped that the atmosphere of the club, and the opportunity of taking part in its management, would gradually widen their horizons and arouse a desire for further development.³

Apart from special provision for the unemployed during the 'thirties, most educational activities of the Settlement arose from the work of the clubs. They were surprisingly numerous and varied. Discussions, debates and lantern lectures were a regular feature. Classes followed, and by the 'thirties included such subjects as first aid, home nursing, dancing, keep fit, elocution, a variety of household crafts, and several foreign languages. Plays and concerts, and in

due course film shows, were regular features, and the Settlement had its own orchestra (sometimes two) and its own military band.⁴

The first Annual Report of the Victoria Settlement explained that the primary aim of such a settlement was "to plant in a centre of vice, squalor and misery a little oasis of education, refinement and sympathy,"⁵ but this rather vague aspiration soon gave way to a more down to earth concern with the problem of poverty. It was only after the First World War, however, that a serious attempt was made to develop the educational side of the work.

Help was sought from the Workers' Educational Association, and during the early 'twenties a number of classes were organized. The first was in Industrial History - the W.E.A.'s staple offering at this time; the second, more surprisingly, was in French, in response to a request from the Tramwaymen's Union. For a time the Settlement was also affiliated to the recently founded Educational Settlements Association, but its educational commitment was evidently not sufficient, or not sufficiently sustained, to satisfy the Association, which terminated the arrangement in 1927.⁶

Thereafter, adult educational activities figure less prominently in the records. None the less, in annual reports and other documents now in the University archives, we do read from time to time of discussion groups, visits, exhibitions, even arts festivals, as well as occasional formal courses, sometimes in collaboration with the W.E.A. The Annual Report for 1950-51 records:

"The Housewives entered 'The Bakehouse' and the Social Club 'A Twentieth Century Lullaby' for the Liverpool Community Centres Council Drama Festival, and both producers were pleased with the performances. The Workers' Educational Association ran a twelve-week course in Elementary Psychology and the lectures were well attended. The same group have also had many other interesting discussions throughout the year. Demonstrations, Talks, and Films have been held for the Women's and Housewives' Groups. Unfortunately the Old People's Group suffered much from illness during the winter ..."

A particularly interesting and successful venture, in 1960, was an eight-week course on Home-Making, designed partly for young couples but especially for the occupants of old property about to be rehoused under a slum clearance scheme. Speakers included the City Director of Housing, people who had already moved to new estates, social workers, employers and labour officials. The average attendance exceeded 40.⁷

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

I have referred above to the pioneer work of the London Council of Social Service in using the community development approach to social problems. H.R. Poole, Secretary of the Liverpool Council of Social Service, was also impressed with the value of this technique, which he had the opportunity of seeing in its original setting during a visit to Southern Rhodesia and neighbouring territories in 1961-62. He saw it as "a process whereby ordinary people in their villages or towns are enabled to share in their own social and economic improvement," and thought history might rate it as "the most important single legacy of the old British Colonial administration."⁸

Poole's Council had long felt that community centres, valuable as they undoubtedly were, were not in themselves sufficient to cope with the social needs and difficulties of many urban housing estates, especially slum clearance estates.⁹ Now the community development idea gave rise to a new form of organization - the neighbourhood community council, designed to bring together in each area representatives of the residents and representatives of all the various statutory and voluntary welfare organizations.

The first such local council was formed in 1962: ten years later there were twenty-five.¹⁰ They concerned themselves with such matters as housing, transport, schools, crèches, children's playgrounds, the special needs of the elderly and the handicapped, recreational facilities, and the promotion of community activities of various kinds, e.g. neighbourhood arts festivals. The civic authorities collaborated fully, and in 1965 appointed three area community wardens for specific areas. Some of the councils were for outlying estates, others for inner city areas, whose problems were of a different order. The very first council, indeed, was for the rundown inner area of Toxteth, an area beset by every kind of social and economic problem, relieved only at this time by the imaginative efforts of the Liverpool University Settlement and the Liverpool Domestic Mission.¹¹

By 1970 Poole was happily reporting that the district councils were creating "a new flow of ideas, new attitudes and new relationships between government and governed which finds its expression in increased citizen activity at very local level."¹²

These new developments brought with them the need to train a new kind of social worker. To meet this need the Council of Social Service turned to the University Extra-Mural Department, which had long been its ally in the provision of courses for social workers of many different kinds. In 1964, at the Council's request, and with financial assistance from trust funds, the

Department appointed D.F. Swift as Lecturer in Community Organization and Development, with a remit to explore the training problem.

Swift's first task was to construct a sound sociological framework for what was in Great Britain still a very new approach to social work. He was, however, able to draw on documentation from the United States and Canada, and he also had the help of a seminar of experienced Liverpool community workers. Poole comments:

"The seminars continued for a year and Swift's academic austerity made heavy demands on those attending, but the results were infinitely worthwhile. There emerged a clear and orderly theoretical basis for community work, a capacity to analyse and evaluate operational work and an acquaintance with international literature on the subject."¹³

Building on this foundation Swift's successor, Keith Jackson, who took office in 1967, quickly became involved in a variety of community organizations, and was able to mount courses, conferences and seminars for a wide range of social and community workers, both professional and voluntary, including such groups as clergy, police officers, and youth leaders. From 1969, when the initial trust funding came to an end, the programme included two-year part-time courses leading to a Certificate or Diploma in Social Studies. Poole wrote:

"The rapid spread of the local community councils in Liverpool has been due in no small measure to the fact that substantial numbers of people in the City have gained from the courses and seminars a firm grasp of the principles and practice of community work, and then applied them in their own localities."¹⁴

In the event community organization in Liverpool did not develop quite along the lines the Council of Social Service had envisaged. There were many reasons for this, but it does seem that the movement had spread rather too rapidly, with the consequence that not all the local councils were firmly rooted in any real community of interests in the often large and diverse areas they covered. By 1977 many of them had either disappeared or developed other functions. Often their tasks were taken over by smaller "grassroots" organizations – residents' and tenants' associations and a variety of special interest groups – operating on a much more local basis.¹⁵ Such organizations exemplified what Stuart Marriott, looking back from the end of the 'seventies, saw as "an upsurge of social protest," a movement which "refused to express itself through the major political parties and the conventional devices of representative government."¹⁶

But the spirit of community self-help, which the Council of Social Service had sought to foster, did not die. Indeed it is perhaps among the smaller organizations that this spirit can best find expression. A recent *Guardian*

article illustrates this, giving a vivid description of two small neighbourhood councils – the Rialto and the Southern – currently active with residents' groups in Toxteth. Of the "dozen or so women" of the Rialto Neighbourhood Council the author writes:

"They combat vandalism, care for the elderly, run youth groups, confront the housing and social services departments, hustle for grants, provide an advisory service on welfare rights. And they're on call day and night."¹⁷

THE EDUCATIONAL PRIORITY AREA

From the late '60s onwards, voluntary effort was reinforced by Government action aimed at relieving deprivation in the inner city areas. In Liverpool this term, as defined in the Final Report of the Liverpool Inner Area Study (1977), covers a large slice of the city, embracing no fewer than eighteen wards, clustered together along the northern shore of the Mersey estuary, in an area some six miles long and at its widest some three miles wide.

The Report gives a detailed description of the area as it was in 1971.¹⁸ It had many different types of housing – old working-class terraces, decaying Victorian mansions and town houses, council houses and flats, high rise tenements from the '60s. There were Victorian parks, and slum clearance sites strewn with rubble and rubbish. There were shops protected by heavy wire grills. The inhabitants numbered some 180,000 – not far short of half the city's population. They included many working-class people, some of them still living in fairly stable community groups. There were students, nurses, a scattering of professional people. There was a shifting population of immigrants and unskilled workers. There was a Chinese quarter. There were Africans, West Indians, Arabs, Pakistanis – some newcomers, other established in Liverpool for a generation or more.

The distinguishing characteristic of the whole area was poverty, with areas such as Toxteth, near the city centre, ranking high on every index of social and economic deprivation. Income was low, housing poor, health poor; unemployment was high (over 20 per cent among unskilled male workers in some parts, compared with an overall 8 per cent for the city); the rates for illiteracy, illegitimate births, crime and delinquency, were all at a very high level.

Such then in briefest outline, was the nature of the problem facing the Local Authority and the Government.

Of the various Government enterprises, three especially impinged on Liverpool. First, in 1968, came the designation of a large section of inner Liverpool, by the Department of Education and Science, as an Educational Priority Area. In 1969 the Home Office selected another sector of the inner city for one of its Community Development Projects. At the same time financial assistance was made available by the Government, under an Urban Programme launched in 1968, for welfare schemes in areas of high social need. In spite of these efforts concern with the plight of the inner cities continued to mount, and in 1972 yet a third government department entered the field. This time it was the Department of the Environment, announcing six Inner Area Studies – one of them, inevitably, in Liverpool – which it was hoped would make possible a more comprehensive approach to environmental problems.

All these schemes employed (or sought to employ) the rather controversial method of inquiry known as "action research",¹⁹ and all three had an adult education constituent. The Local Education Authority, the Workers' Educational Association, the University Institute of Extension Studies, and a variety of voluntary bodies, were all in some degree involved.

The Educational Priority Area was one of four such areas established in England in the wake of the Plowden Report of 1967, which had recommended "positive discrimination" to raise the standard of primary education in deprived areas.²⁰ The project covered a three-year period (1968-71), and embraced most of the southern half of Liverpool's inner residential area (including Toxteth), with headquarters in the Paddington area. Its population, about 85,000 at this time, accounted for some 30 per cent of the inner city area, and some 14 per cent of the entire city. Some parts of the area had a considerable black and coloured population.²¹ In this instance the adult education component came principally from Tom Lovett, a W.E.A. organizing tutor who was attached to the project from 1969.

Eric Midwinter, director of the project, summed up the general aims of the E.P.A. as "to raise educational standards, to lift teacher-morale, to solder home and school links, and to assist in giving communities a sense of responsibility."²² Within this broad framework Midwinter emphasized particularly the need to forge closer links between the schools and the community, and, as part of this process, to ensure that the primary school curriculum, and teaching materials, were relevant to the lives, interests and needs of children growing up in a deprived inner city area, instead of being, as he believed they were, oriented almost entirely towards middle-class life and middle-class values.²³

Against such a background the potential contribution of adult education was clearly very great: it seemed, indeed, a necessary complement to the improvement of school education. The task of developing this potential, however, was rendered difficult by the widespread indifference, if not hostility, among the local population to any form of post-school education. In this situation Lovett showed both perseverance and skill, and was able to launch a number of interesting experimental projects. He has written about his work more than once.²⁴

Early experience confirmed what had long been known, namely that the traditional method of organizing adult education, by arranging a programme of courses and making its known through leaflets and advertisements, was of little value in this kind of area. Midwinter comments:

"We learned this the hard way. We decided on a 'Football Appreciation' course. Thousands of leaflets were distributed about soccer-mad Merseyside and the football club supporters' associations were notified. The press gave some space to the plan. The course tutor was ideally chosen. He was an ex-professional footballer, now a university physical education lecturer whose research was the development of sport and leisure in Liverpool, and who managed the then most successful amateur team in the north-west. The film was a delight for the soccer connoisseur and films of memorable matches were booked. One person enrolled."²⁵

Using a more personal approach, Lovett and his E.P.A. colleagues focussed their attention on a limited target – the occupants of a group of some 700 small, rundown terraced houses in the Edge Hill area of inner Liverpool. An intensive canvass brought contact with 424 individuals. Not one of these was engaged in any form of vocational or non-vocational further education, but about one-third (mainly women) expressed a desire to pursue some specific educational interest. A further massive effort brought together thirty-one interested people, and led eventually to the establishment of well attended classes in hairdressing and domestic science and a general discussion group. These activities were conducted quite informally, without fee, attendance requirements, or registration. This outcome, though not in line with the W.E.A.'s tradition of liberal adult education, was for such an area a very creditable achievement, but it was too prodigal of time, manpower and money to be replicated over a wider area.²⁶

In the meantime Lovett had been experimenting with a community development approach to adult education. With the assistance of his colleagues he quickly built up a network of connections with other educational and community workers in the area, and participated in a number of community development projects. He helped a group of residents to draw up plans for a housing improvement scheme organized by Shelter (the National Campaign for the Homeless); a group of mothers to set up a

claimants' union for welfare benefits; another group of mothers to organize a community centre; and a group of parents to run a summer play-group for their children.

Lovett describes all these ventures, involving as they did the formation and running of committees, negotiations with officials and councillors, and a great deal of detailed planning, as examples of "learning through doing,"²⁷ and we may fairly call to mind the kind of learning stimulated by the Antigonish scheme.²⁸ At this stage, however, the harvest of specifically educational activity was meagre – just one weekly class in hairdressing at the community centre.²⁹

In the end the most useful approach turned out to be through that well tried adult education technique, the discussion group. This was an essential part of the W.E.A. and university extra-mural teaching tradition, and had also been extensively and successfully used, during and after the Second World War, under the auspices of H.M. Forces, as a teaching method in its own right. W.E. Lloyd, one of Lovett's predecessors in the service of the West Lancashire and Cheshire W.E.A., had in fact been particularly active in promoting work of this latter kind.³⁰ The response, even from men and women whose educational background was exceedingly poor, was often surprisingly good.

These war-time groups, of course, were assembled under discipline: they had no choice about joining or leaving. In the Liverpool E.P.A. the task of recruitment was quite different. Thanks to the contacts he had already made, however, and after a great deal of preparatory work, Lovett was able to establish discussion groups, under the leadership of part-time tutors, in a variety of meeting places – community centres, schools, private homes, even public houses. The subjects chosen were matters of current interest or controversy, e.g. housing, immigration, the permissive society, capital punishment, spiritualism, witchcraft.

Initially only one group met in a public house. This group, drawn from residents in the surrounding high rise flats, presented the greatest challenge, but for that very reason was regarded as particularly important. In other groups women tended to predominate: it was in the pubs that men were to be found. The difficulties of conducting an orderly discussion amid all the noise and distraction of a public house bar were formidable, and would have discouraged many tutors, but Lovett and his helpers persisted and in the end he was able to describe the first series of six meetings as "highly successful". The discussions on witchcraft and on the permissive society attracted the largest numbers, but a core of eight or nine people attended regularly.³¹

Admirable as these ventures were, and valuable as they undoubtedly were to those who participated, the results were still hardly commensurate with the

effort involved. Lovett realized that for an area with a population of about 85,000 the only answer was to involve the mass media. In 1971, with the help of the B.B.C.'s recently established Radio Merseyside, he was able to present a series of six fifteen-minute programmes dealing with community problems – the family, the neighbourhood, the school, the church, local government, and national government. These programmes made extensive use of the comments and views of local people, and also included popular songs and some dramatic presentations. Eleven groups (including this time three in public houses) listened to the programmes and used them as a basis for discussion under the guidance of part-time tutors; and in some cases further discussions were arranged to explore particular topics. We may be sure, too, that the radio talks were heard by many who were not members of the organized discussion groups.³²

In 1972 Lovett left Liverpool to work in Londonderry under the auspices of the New University of Ulster. Here he was able to continue and develop much of the pioneering work he had initiated in the Liverpool context. In his book *Adult Education, Community Development, and the Working Class*, in which he describes his Liverpool experience, he stresses the importance of what he calls a "network" approach,³³ in which the tutor operates at the centre of a network of community groups, serving as a link between those groups which represent needs (residents' groups, parents' groups, community centres, and the like) and those which represent resources (adult education organizations, local radio, community councils, and so forth).

As Lovett admits, there is nothing very new in this idea – it merely gives a name to what has long been established practice among adult education organizers. He does rightly urge, however, the need for organizing tutors in working-class districts such as inner Liverpool to have smaller areas of operation, which they can cultivate in greater depth. He also pleads (citing in support the recently published Russell Report on adult education) for a more imaginative and informal approach to workers' education, involving when necessary the jettisoning of the whole bureaucratic apparatus of class organization, enrolment, syllabuses, attendance requirements, even fees.³⁴ Ideally he would have liked to see a return to the tradition of the W.E.A.'s earliest years, when the initiative for educational work came not from the providing body but from the students.³⁵

More controversially, Lovett argues that if the tremendous opportunities opened up by community adult education are to be fully exploited, adult education must abandon the dubious neutrality of its present middle-class stance, and adopt "a more positive attitude to the problems of working class culture and community."³⁶ From this standpoint he suggests the development of "working class studies" embracing "not only the history of the working class but an investigation of their everyday lives and values through the most

appropriate media Community adult education ... must be an active agent of change."³⁷

Lovett does not labour the point at this stage, and it could be said that these tentative remarks go only a little way beyond the kind of statement which used to appear in documents by and about the W.E.A. many years ago, to the effect that tutors could reasonably be expected to be "sympathetic to the working class movement".³⁸ Later, in Ulster, Lovett was expounding an explicitly socialist viewpoint.³⁹ "What we need" he declared at a conference in Nottingham in 1984, "is concerned educators committed to social change, actively involved in that process."⁴⁰ Because he could not envisage any of the formal adult education agencies undertaking such a task, he saw the best hope for the future in the establishment of a voluntary and independent residential centre.

This is not the place to pursue the story of Lovett's work in Northern Ireland. His vision of a residential college, however, did become reality in 1982 with the establishment in a suburb of Belfast of the Ulster People's College, with himself as part-time Director.

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

The Home Office Community Development Project in Liverpool, in operation from 1970 to 1975, was one of twelve in different parts of the country, designed to use community development techniques to improve the quality of life in areas of severe deprivation: The area chosen was Vauxhall, an inner city area lying to the north of the Educational Priority Area, but much smaller, with only about one-sixth of the population. Its inhabitants, too, were very different from the varied and cosmopolitan dwellers in the E.P.A. This was, in fact, a once stable, working-class, dockside community, solidly Irish Catholic in origins, and still closely knit in spite of the disruptive effects of slum clearance, massive roadworks, and the decline of the docks and their associated industries. None the less it showed a similar high incidence of poverty, unemployment, inadequate housing, poor achievement, vandalism and crime.

The Project was carried out by an action team attached to the City Town Clerk's Department, and sought to discover "practical ways of improving and developing local services" (including voluntary services) within the local

authority framework.⁴¹ A team from Oxford University assisted, from 1971, with background research and the monitoring of developments.⁴²

The adult education input for the Project came initially both from the W.E.A. and from the University Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies (known from 1970 as the Institute of Extension Studies). A W.E.A. tutor attached to the Project, David Godman, took up his duties in July, 1972. Following the example set by Lovett in the E.P.A. he began by developing contacts with residents' associations and other local groups (including some trade union groups). Some of these contacts seemed to open up the possibility of adult education activities. Before long, however, the tutor came to suspect that "the traditional role of the W.E.A. may not be the one most fitted for the development of a working-class educational programme in Vauxhall."⁴³ The W.E.A., for its part, while recognizing the need for pioneering work, was looking towards the development of activities sufficiently formal to secure recognition by the Department of Education and Science.

Eventually, after little more than a year's work, it was agreed that Godman should cease to be employed by the W.E.A., and should become a member of the Project team. In this capacity he continued his work with local groups. As unemployment in the area increased he became increasingly involved with industrial problems and with problems of welfare rights.

By this stage the Information Centre, established by the Project in 1970 (and incorporated in 1974 in a comprehensive Multi-Services Centre), provided a convenient focus for many community activities, including an advisory Welfare Rights Group which grew out of weekly evening classes at the Information Centre. When in September 1974 women in a local factory went on strike for equal pay, a room in the Centre was taken over as a strike office and the adult education tutor advised on welfare rights and provided instruction in administrative skills.⁴⁴

The authors of the official report, while recognizing the value of work of this kind, regretted that the adult education tutor had not been able to pay more attention to general community needs. This would have provided support for the five neighbourhood community workers who were appointed by the Project between 1971 and 1974, each with a specific sphere of responsibility within the Vauxhall area. As it was, the Project's Community programme was left with "little effective educational input."⁴⁵

Eventually when the Project came to an end in 1975, responsibility for most of the social action programmes, including the work of the adult education tutor and the neighbourhood community workers, was taken over by a newly created Vauxhall Neighbourhood Council, with a 75 per cent grant from the Home Office to cover its first five years.⁴⁶

The collaboration between the Project and the University Institute of Extension Studies was also short-lived. As part of the reorganization involved in the creation of the Institute, Keith Jackson became Head of a Social Studies Division, with responsibility not only for the now well established courses for social workers but also for a new action research programme in community adult education. This latter enterprise, extending in all over five years (1972-77) was first and foremost a sequel to the Institute's earlier work, in collaboration with the Liverpool Council of Social Service, in the field of community development, and it was financed mainly from trust funds. It seemed natural, however, to link up with the Government's Community Development Project, and this brought a contribution also from the Home Office. Jackson himself played a leading role in the investigation, and he was supported by two lecturers (Martin Yarnit and David Evans) and a research worker (Robert Ashcroft), though it was not until May, 1973, that the team was complete.

The aim of this experimental project is clearly set out by the Director of the Institute in the *Annual Report* for 1972-73:

"This is an area [Vauxhall] in which there has been virtually no involvement by the local residents in any form of adult or further education, and the general attitude to education is indeed commonly one of indifference if not downright hostility. The object of the University team has been to develop an approach to education which will overcome this kind of attitude and at the same time make a real contribution to the social and cultural life in the area

"It should be emphasized that this is a research project, designed to explore possibilities and discover how the problem can best be tackled. In the long run the University's direct contribution is likely to be in providing only certain kinds of courses which are similar to those in the normal Extension programme; in advising local groups who wish to run their own educational activities; and in training the professionals who work in this field."⁴⁷

The report goes on to relate the early stages of the experiment:

"The first task was for members of the team to establish extensive contacts with residents' groups and individual residents. From these contacts it became clear that such problems as unemployment, vandalism and housing offered possible starting-points for action. Local reaction to the Housing Finance Act [1972] provided the first modest breakthrough. By preparing a substantial teaching document, clear, impartial, and relevant to local interests, and by conducting meetings based on this document, the team felt that a definite educational contribution was being made. Large numbers of people attended these meetings, which were followed up over a period of some

months by discussion groups and tutorial sessions, e.g. for local tenants' associations. These activities led to the first substantial 'class', in which an average of ten people attended weekly for twelve weeks to study Social Theory and Social Problems, under the guidance of Robert Ashcroft.

"Another 'class', comprising 10 unemployed men and women from Vauxhall and other inner areas of the city, devoted itself over a period of 10 weeks (15 meetings) to an investigation of the causes of crime. This class was unusual in that the members, instead of paying a fee, actually received an honorarium, of £1 per meeting, in recognition of their work. They did a remarkable job, and ended by producing a substantial report under the title *We Live There*, which was forwarded to the Lord Mayor's Committee

"Finally, in the spring of 1973, the University team took the initiative in arranging, in collaboration with the Home Office, a programme of short adult education courses under the title *Time Off*. They were attractively advertized, held in local schools, and offered without fee. A total of 82 students enrolled in seven classes, the most popular being Swimming, Spanish and Cookery. It was a modest but not negligible achievement. Local history, it is interesting to record, did not find a single taker."⁴⁸

The Institute's *Annual Report* for the following year, 1973-74, records the launching of a pilot two-year training course, on a day-release basis, for neighbourhood community workers without previous training or formal educational qualifications. In the event this attempt to combine adult education with practical training was not particularly successful: it had to be extended into a third year, and was not repeated.⁴⁹ It did, however, provide valuable experience in methods of teaching with groups of this kind.

Of special significance in this session was the beginning, in September 1973, of the Scotland Road Writers' Workshop, conducted by the recently appointed David Evans, the latest recruit to the Institute's community development team.⁵⁰ Evans was a specialist in literature and the communication media, and the workshop had its origins in a short course called Talking about Books which Evans had contributed to the *Time Off* programme the previous summer.

Nine people turned up at the library of the local school for the first meeting of the workshop: a fireman, a young unemployed man who had failed O-levels, a timber storeman, two young cleaning women, a dockgate man and a woman who had previously been a factory hand, a companion and a community worker. Throughout the thirty weeks to which the course eventually extended enrolment never exceeded nine, and average attendance was only four. An

unemployed electrician who had originally suggested the course did not attend but sent in work. Had a fee been charged, and had the attendance requirements normally demanded in adult education classes been applied, the course would never have got off the ground. But in time, from these modest beginnings greater things developed. Four years later annual enrolment was averaging twenty and average attendance eleven; and with the help of grants from the Merseyside Arts Association two anthologies of members' work had been published under the title of *Voices of Scotland Road*. By that time, too, the pioneering work of the Scotland Road Workshop had given rise to similar enterprises in other parts of Liverpool, and in other cities.⁵¹

Another interesting development in the Scotland Road area, in which Robert Ashcroft was much involved, was the establishment in a redundant school building of the Scotland Road People's Centre, formed on the initiative of local people "to combine social and recreational facilities, a centre for welfare rights advice and local cooperatives to improve the area, with adult educational and cultural activities."⁵²

Unfortunately, before the Writers' Workshop had even completed its first session, relations between the Extension Studies team and the Community Development Project had become so strained that in the spring of 1974 arrangements for cooperation were officially terminated.⁵³ Partly because of this, and partly because of their overriding interest in the political dimension of community affairs, the Extension Studies team did not (apart from David Evans's course) attempt to follow up the results of the pioneer Time Off courses, and it was left to the Development Project to pursue this line of work in association with the Local Education Authority. By the spring of 1975 some 300 students were attending classes in local schools.

A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION

There were several reasons for the breakdown in relations just referred to. Administrative complexities had something to do with it: so had the differences in style and personality between the various participants. But the main reason was ideological: the Project team, working to improve services within a local authority framework, was almost bound to adopt a consensus approach, which in the last resort was incompatible with the radical stance adopted by the Extension Studies team.

The views of Keith Jackson and his colleagues were set forth in a restrained

and coded form in a document of 1972 which Jackson states was accepted by the Project team as "an adequate basis for co-operation."⁵⁴ The statement emphasized that the notion of "working class" should replace that of "community" as the basic theoretical concept in defining the adult educational needs of the Vauxhall area:

"Working class adult education should be: relevant to the needs of workers; concerned with workers' consciousness of their social position in political, economic and cultural terms; directed to enabling workers to gain access to what is best in middle class culture, but which is currently withheld from them."⁵⁵

Other papers written about this time, however, and especially two papers by Jackson and Ashcroft, state the views of the Extension team much more fully and more forcibly. Relevance, they argue, is not enough if it merely teaches people to live within what Midwinter calls "the grim reality of this social context." Adults in deprived inner urban areas may look upon that reality as intolerable, may even wish to destroy it.⁵⁶ In such a context adult education cannot be neutral: "If a philosophy of education is to have any meaning for the working class it must be developed in the context of a challenge to bourgeois hegemony."⁵⁷ Adult education must therefore be related to social action "in such a way that the social and cultural values which education might embody aim to help workers increase their consciousness of their class position and its consequences."⁵⁸ "If we can break away from the conventional mode of educational success, educationists are not in central Liverpool to *rescue* workers, or merely to *help* them, but to establish a position of *solidarity* with them."⁵⁹

The paper from which these last two quotations are taken has a passionate postscript:

"Adult education, like community development generally, is a marginal activity. There is no doubt we will leave Scotland Road in Liverpool much as we found it; a massive monument to an exploitative society; a squalid and oppressive slum which nobody ought to tolerate. The best we can hope for is that more people who live there will recognise this too, and that their frustration will lead to anger and an improved determination to change it."⁶⁰

The sentiments are admirable, and not surprisingly met with a response among some members of the Community Development Project team. In other Community Development areas, too, the Liverpool approach, emphasizing informal adult education focussed on real life issues, had considerable influence.⁶¹ But to sympathise with adult students is one thing: to identify with them, and join them in action over controversial issues is quite another thing. Indeed, one of the dangers which community adult education

experiments have most frequently revealed is that of involvement in party political action.

The University Extension team did not escape this danger, or indeed seek to escape it. In the paper just cited Ashcroft and Jackson emphasized the experimental nature of the work, and noted that "although this programme is set in the Liverpool University Institute of Extension Studies, there is no intention of perceiving it as part of the normal provision of a University extra-mural department."⁶² The teaching work in connection with the 1972 Housing Finance Act⁶³ involved both the Extension Studies team and the W.E.A. tutor, but neither organization was mentioned in publicity material. In their account of this work⁶⁴ Ashcroft and Jackson stress that the utmost care was taken to give the tenants as accurate and objective an account as possible of the provisions of the Act and its likely effects, but this was done "from a working-class standpoint", and from this standpoint the inevitable conclusion was that "the Act is broadly speaking an attack on the living standards of council tenants."

When the tenants, not surprisingly, decided on a rent strike, the adult educators were expected to join in and they did, advising on organization, helping in the production of leaflets and bulletins; one even joined a procession. A later account by Martin Yarnit (from which some of these details are drawn) adds that "This identification with the tenants continued into the following year when they opposed the sitting Labour councillors with tenants' candidates."⁶⁵ Both campaigns failed in their primary objective, but they were regarded as valuable because they "had brought together a hard core of militants, 10 to 15 strong, with whom our team was involved in a continuing discussion about the politics of education."⁶⁶

The authors of the official C.D.P. report comment, with considerable restraint, that "By being university based the E.I.S. team was far more able 'to test out the limits' of the strategy than the main project, which both by style and [by] position was firmly anchored within the local authority."⁶⁷ In my view it is indeed only within such an experimental context that such activities could be justified.⁶⁸

THE INNER AREA STUDY

For this study, conducted in collaboration with the Liverpool City Council and later also with the newly formed Merseyside County Council, the

Department of the Environment chose an inner area of some 60,000 population in South Liverpool, overlapping considerably with that previously included in the Educational Priority Area. It began with a pilot study in 1972, and continued until 1976. Its Final Report,⁶⁹ prepared by consultants in such disciplines as architecture and town planning, economics, and engineering, was a very thoroughgoing survey, reinforced by action research. It embodied proposals for halting the economic decline of the inner city area; raising the level of working skills among adults and young people; improving housing opportunities; and channelling additional resources into the areas of greatest social needs.

It was in this last category that education found a place. Taking note of the experience of the Educational Priority Area and the Community Development Project, the Report acknowledged that education alone could not achieve social change, but contended that it could do something, at various levels, to remove the constraints on equality of opportunity so characteristic of the inner urban areas.⁷⁰

At the primary level the Report came out strongly in favour of the community school concept advocated by Midwinter and others, with special emphasis on closer contact between school and parents. At the secondary level the Report urged a major independent review to study practical alternatives to academic education for inner city pupils, and to look for ways of overcoming "the often artificial barriers between education, training, work and leisure for those young people faced with the prospect of too little work and too much leisure."⁷¹

At the adult education level the Report records that, after some unsuccessful pilot experiments based mainly on existing community groups, it was decided to focus further efforts on a particular target, namely young unemployed blacks in the area in and around Upper Parliament Street. This was an important decision because this area included Liverpool's main concentration of black people, and this was the first time special consideration had been given to their adult education needs. An independent local employment agency was asked to undertake the management of this stage of the operation, and its subsequent development is described by the Report as follows:

"A young black woman from the locality who had teacher training experience was appointed to run an adult education centre opened in an empty shop in Upper Parliament Street in November 1974. The centre caters largely for the local black community. It provided information about existing adult and further education courses; helped people get accepted for courses provided by the local authority and Training Services Agency; and set up its own courses to fill gaps in the existing

provision. These included English and pre-O-level classes, black studies and black music.⁷²

Within six months, forty people had been helped to start on college courses and two hundred more had attended one of the centre's own courses. Arrangements were made to support the project financially for two years after the ending of the Inner Area Study in 1976.

The moral that the Report drew from this experience was that, as the W.E.A. had demonstrated in the Educational Priority Area, interest in adult education could be stimulated among the most unlikely groups by varying the content and organization of courses.⁷³

The Report also urged local and central government to extend the provision of youth and community centres, playgrounds and play schemes, and sport and leisure activities; and to do everything possible, if necessary by financial aid, to stimulate and support self-help activities by community groups.⁷⁴

THE SECOND CHANCE COURSE

The Inner Area Study was the last of the three Government-sponsored action-research projects with which we are here concerned. When it ended in 1976, the University action-research project was also moving towards its close. It was in its final year, 1976-77, that Keith Jackson and Martin Yarnit, building on their previous experience with the Community Development Project and the course for neighbourhood community workers,⁷⁵ launched what was to prove a particularly interesting and notable experiment – a course entitled Second Chance to Learn, designed specially for working-class men and women who had left school at the minimum school-leaving age and had subsequently had little or no further education. It was an intensive course, requiring attendance for one day a week for twenty weeks. It was offered jointly by the University and the W.E.A.

The course was an immediate success: indeed, so great was the demand that it had to be doubled up, with two intakes of about 20 students each attending on different days. Though Jackson left in 1978 to become Senior Tutor in the new Northern College of Adult Education in Yorkshire, Yarnit stayed on (now as an employee of the W.E.A.), and for a further six years played a leading part in the work.

The subsequent development of this course will be dealt with later, but in the meantime, to get a clearer idea of its character, it will be useful to look at an account by Yarnit, published in 1980.⁷⁶ Making no secret of the radical political and social orientation of the course, he traces its origins back to that "hard core of militants" which had emerged in connection with the rent strike,⁷⁷ and to the political relationship between adult educators and working-class organizations which had developed thereafter.⁷⁸ Second Chance, as it appears in his account, was a course for the workers, staffed by tutors committed to the working-class struggle.

At that time most of the course was devoted to seminars and workshops on working-class history, for which the history of Liverpool itself offered a fruitful starting-point: but to train students in self-expression a part of each day was also given to a writers' workshop, conducted in the early stages by David Evans on the lines he had already pioneered in the Scotland Road area.⁷⁹ The class teaching was supported by regular individual or small group tutorials. There were no course fees, but students in employment had either to give up free time or forfeit part of their wages. This was a difficulty which effectively barred some students. Provision on this scale, requiring the services of six tutors and two secretarial staff and producing no fee income, was inevitably expensive, and was made possible only by substantial funding from a variety of outside sources – principally, from 1979 onwards, the Inner City Partnership.

Because there were always more applicants than places, it was possible for the course organizers to exercise a certain measure of selection, e.g. to keep a reasonable balance between men and women, but there was no attempt to restrict enrolment to working-class "activists". Nor, according to Yarnit, was there any attempt at indoctrination: he had, he declared, "more enthusiasm for providing students with a framework for understanding than in trying to instil a given set of values."⁸⁰ His final paragraph is worth quoting:

'Yet, education which exists exclusively for the struggle is necessarily limited in its scope. Second Chance has always had to come to terms with the tension between the interests of the politically committed, who form a coherent and vocal minority of the students, and the needs of often minimally class-conscious students. We have recognized the advantages, for both types of student and for tutors from this mix, but we also hold that adult education for the working class has to offer stimulus to both the committed and the uncommitted. Many students will never identify with our outlook, but it is crucial that they should feel at ease in arguing with it. Educationalists have always laid claim to truth and freedom. We can and must do the same with a serene conscience, knowing that if we fail it won't be long before we are being vilified by some students as indoctrinators. And that's a risk which the bourgeois educationalist should run, but rarely does."⁸¹

THE ADULT LITERACY PROJECT

Nobody knows just how many illiterate adults Liverpool has, or has had in the past. In the early 'seventies a strictly proportionate calculation, on the very conservative basis that England and Wales in 1971, with a population of 48,750,000, had one million functional illiterates, Liverpool with its 610,000 inhabitants would have had more than 12,500; and we may be certain that the inner city had more than its fair share. The more commonly accepted estimate of two millions⁴² would have indicated a figure of 25,000.

It was in December 1971, that the Liverpool University Settlement launched its Adult Literacy Scheme, on the same one-to-one basis as had been adopted by the Cambridge House Settlement in London some years earlier.⁴³ For some years past the work of the Liverpool Settlement had been at a rather low ebb, and this new venture was one of three initiated by Graham Riches, the recently appointed Warden. Riches took the view that the essential purpose of a University Settlement should be, not to provide services but rather to explore, demonstrate and evaluate new approaches to social and industrial problems, and thus provide a basis for research into such problems. The other two ventures dealt with welfare rights ('Check') and with employment problems ('New Careers'). The Settlement council agreed to realize capital assets in order to help finance these projects.

The pioneering phase of the Adult Literacy Scheme was under the direction of Mrs Julie O'Neill. When she left at the end of September 1972 she was able to report that 255 inquiries had been received, and 138 adults were currently receiving free tuition from voluntary tutors.⁴⁴ Subsequent analysis showed that applicants came from a much broader spectrum of society than had been anticipated. Their employments ranged from unskilled labour to skilled technical work, with housewives from all sectors of society. Three out of four applicants were men, and ages ranged from 15 to 55. About one-third (including some of good intelligence) were completely illiterate; a third could read only with difficulty; and the remaining third could read fairly well but not spell.⁴⁵

Amid all this variety, however, Julie O'Neill noted that one group was missing – those from the poorest and most apathetic areas of the community – those she dubbed "the hard core of illiterates."⁴⁶ Only by missionary work in the field could such people be discovered and their needs identified. In spite of the best efforts of "outreach" workers of many kinds, the problem is with us still, and I suspect always will be.

Under the leadership of Mrs Margaret Ben-Tovim, who succeeded Julie O'Neill as Director, the Literacy Scheme continued to expand, and the number under tuition continued to grow. The W.E.A., which from the first

was keenly interested in this work, gave valuable help by providing training courses for the often inexperienced voluntary tutors.⁸⁷ The L.E.A., for its part, made a modest financial contribution, and increased its own provision for literacy teaching, as from September 1973, from two classes (one in a centre for remedial education) to six, with the relatively high teacher-student ratio of 1:6.⁸⁸

As time went on a growing body of professional literature on adult literacy education began to emerge, dealing with such vital matters as student needs, student recruitment, teaching methods, and tutor-training. Liverpool's contribution came in 1974, in the form of a duplicated volume of papers, mostly by literacy workers in the area centred on Merseyside, in which possible approaches to these and other problems were explored.⁸⁹ One of the opening papers, by a W.E.A. tutor, Dr Susan Shrapnel, expounded in lively fashion the Freirean view that illiterates are not social misfits but individual citizens who have been deprived of their rights.⁹⁰

By this date, thanks to the propaganda efforts of the British Association of Settlements,⁹¹ illiteracy had become recognized as a national problem, and Liverpool's pioneering work was seen as a contribution to the Association's national Right to Read campaign, in the launching of which Margaret Ben-Tovim was very much involved. Unfortunately by this time it was also clear that the escalating costs of this and other new developments were more than the now depleted resources of the Settlement could bear. As from July, 1974, therefore, the Literacy Scheme was established as a separate organization, with premises in Canning Street, not far away, and funding from the Local Education Authority and charitable sources. Margaret Ben-Tovim continued as Director until April, 1977, when the Local Educational Authority assumed full financial and administrative responsibility.

It was during the first Canning Street phase that the W.E.A embarked on a new and important series of courses, based at Canning Street and three other inner city centres, and designed for the newly literate who were in need of further help. This Intermediate Literacy course, as it was called, was funded by the Government's Adult Literacy Resource Agency: it began in 1974-75, and was to continue successfully for nine years.⁹²

By the time the transfer to the Local Education Authority took place, the Adult Literacy Project had become quite a professional operation, with careful interviewing and counselling of would-be students; careful selection and training of volunteer tutors; careful matching of students with tutors. Free individual tuition was being provided for about 250 adults seeking help with reading, writing, or spelling. A resources centre provided books and other materials not only for those using the Canning Street Centre but also for literacy tutors and students in colleges of further education.

Resources for research were limited, but a study of 88 students whose progress

was reviewed during 1974 and 1975 shows that more than two-thirds were men; more than half were in the age-group 25-45; nearly three-quarters were unskilled or semi-skilled, 9 were unemployed. More than half had suffered irregular schooling (partly because of the Second World War), and one had never been to school at all. There were 20 beginners: the rest had reading ages of more than 5 years – in some cases considerably more. Only 7 of the 88 were judged to have made no measurable progress: most of the others thought their progress had been "Good" or "Very Good".⁹¹

The human stories of success or failure that lie behind these statistics are best illustrated by two letters from students received by Mrs Ben-Tovim during the University Settlement phase of the work.⁹² I take the liberty of quoting a few passages. A student who has profited by group tuition writes:

"[The tutor] has taught me more in the short time I have had with her than all the teachers put-together did, while I was at school. All my life I have longed to be able to read and write. Now I can I am actually looking forward to joining an Evening Class in the near future, at a Technical College."

At the other end of the scale a young student writes to apologize for non-attendance:

"I think you really no that I was not going for me tuition. I did one a learn. But everthink I got tort I forgot the next day. ... See the thing is that you got a Brains or you havent. Well me I havent got Brain. I got no Brains for anythink. just thck."⁹³ A DIVE.⁹⁴ just one big tall lad of a DIVE. anyway the not all like me the peple who come to you[for] Help.

Keep up the good work please."

As far as the University Settlement is concerned there is an interesting postscript to this story. After the severance of links with the Literacy Scheme, and the simultaneous hiving-off of the welfare rights scheme (Check!) the Settlement operated on a reduced scale, concentrating on its youth work and on the New Careers Scheme, which at this stage was concerned principally with finding places on educational courses for students without the normal academic qualifications. When Graham Riches resigned the Wardenship in September, 1974, to take up a post in Canada, he was not replaced, and the administration was placed in the hands of a group of four Youth Workers. In the following year the formal link with the University was abandoned, and the title was changed to "Liverpool Settlement (South)". From 1979 onwards the efforts of the new body were directed mainly to the work of the York House Boys' Club, but by 1986, owing to slum clearance and rebuilding schemes, this too was at an end. For a time it seemed as though closure was inevitable, but mercifully this was avoided, and plans are now afoot to reorganize the settlement as a support centre for settlements and settlement-type projects in various parts of the city.⁹⁵

III EPILOGUE

INTRODUCTION

So far this narrative has been concerned with adult education experiments in the inner city of Liverpool up to and including the Inner Area Study which ended in 1976. There have been many interesting developments since then, but unfortunately most of them are not yet well documented, and only those who are or have been directly involved can describe them adequately. I myself retired from active participation in adult education in 1975, my successor being Professor Edwin Rhodes, who served as Director of Extension Studies until 1983. The most I can do, therefore, is to indicate, as well as I can, what has happened during the past decade to the various projects described above.

We must begin by looking at the attitude of the Government, which has often been a determining factor throughout this period. We have noted that as early as 1967 economy was the order of the day,¹ and as the years went by, and successive governments enforced further reductions, the cries of anguish from students and providing bodies became, as the editorial pages of *Adult Education* regularly testify, louder and louder. The advent, in 1979, of a Conservative Government with reduction of public expenditure as one of its main objectives inevitably made the situation even more acute. The providing bodies – L.E.A.s, universities, voluntary organizations – could do little or nothing to plug the gap: they were forced to reduce programmes, increase fees (very steeply in some cases), and tighten up entrance requirements.

In this gloomy picture two bright spots can be discerned. One was the continuing concern of Governments with the plight of the inner cities – a concern in which humanitarian considerations such as those advanced by the Russell Committee were increasingly reinforced by the recognition that in many inner city areas poverty, unemployment, and racial tension were creating a mixture that could at any time explode into violence – as indeed it did in Liverpool and elsewhere during the early 'eighties. So the providing bodies were encouraged, and sometimes financially assisted, to explore the educational needs of deprived and disadvantaged groups, and to respond to these needs with the minimal amount of formality and at minimal cost to the participants.

Minimal student fees, of course, meant minimal revenue for the providing bodies, and as a number of Liverpool instances will show, this had a limiting effect on what could be achieved. Taken in conjunction with the very large increases in fees for ordinary classes, a minimal fees policy also produced, as several observers have noted,² a sharp distinction between two groups of students – the poor who paid little or nothing, and the well to do who could afford to pay high fees. The danger was that those in between – ordinary working people on modest incomes – would be squeezed out.

In the campaign against educational disadvantage the main thrust of Government policy has been in the area of literacy and basic education. The first grant of £1 million towards literacy education for the year 1975-76³ was followed by others during the next four years, and from 1980 onwards funds were made available also for "basic education", i.e. education in numeracy and elementary communication skills. These funds, like those originally granted for literacy education, have been administered by an agency under the wing of the National Institute of Adult Education – now the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit, with a grant for 1986-87 of £2 million. Similar arrangements have been made for Scotland.

The literacy campaign was greatly assisted by some imaginative and carefully planned programmes mounted by B.B.C. television, beginning in 1975 with *On the Move*; while on the numeracy front an independent broadcasting company, Yorkshire Television, acting in collaboration with the National Extension College, broke new ground in 1978 with a series called *Make it Count*. Local radio also helped in the recruitment of students and tutors, and B.B.C. radio broadcast a course for tutors.⁴

The objective of this campaign has been to persuade L.E.A.s and voluntary bodies – but especially L.E.A.s – to make literacy and basic education part of their normal further education provision. To a considerable extent this has been achieved, but provision still falls far short of the need. In February, 1987, a press release by the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit estimated that over 500,000 adults in England and Wales had sought help with literacy and/or numeracy since 1975. In November, 1985, more than 100,000 were actually receiving help, 77 per cent of them through L.E.A.s. Most of the tutors were part-time, and 78 per cent were unpaid volunteers. Still more recently, the same Unit has published a detailed analysis of information collected in 1981 by the National Child Development Study, in interviews with a representative group of 23-year olds from various parts of Great Britain. Some 13 per cent of the group reported difficulties with reading, writing, spelling, or mathematics since leaving school, and only 8 per cent of these people were receiving tuition.⁵ It is, I think, quite wrong to deduce from this figure (especially now, six years later) that "at least seven million people in Britain are illiterate",⁶ but clearly, however we define illiteracy, the number of people whose basic education is inadequate is still a cause for serious concern.

The second bright spot was the establishment by the Department of Education and Science, in 1977, of an Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education – not a Development Council as the Russell Committee had hoped, but still something. During six prolific years it produced no fewer than 36 reports. Several of these, on such issues as educational guidance, basic education, and education for the unemployed, for the retired, for the black communities, provided practical advice and information on matters specially relevant to the needs of the disadvantaged. In 1984 the Advisory Council was succeeded by a Unit for the Development of Adult Continuing Education, forming part of the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education,⁷ with a remit to include among its first priorities adult education for the elderly and for the unemployed

All this activity offers a gleam of hope for the future, but not, it must be confessed, much comfort in the present.

In Liverpool, meanwhile, as elsewhere, the providing bodies have been left to struggle as well as they may with the deep cuts in their financial resources, and to glean whatever advantage they can for the development of inner city adult education from such miscellaneous sources as the Government's literacy and basic education agencies, the Manpower Services Commission, the Inner City Partnership,⁸ and charitable funds. Through all these difficulties, however, the mark left by the developments of the '60s and '70s – Plowden, Russell, and the various educational priority and community development schemes – could still be clearly seen. At almost every educational level there was now a far greater awareness of the problems of the poor and the disadvantaged, and an earnest desire, as far as resources permitted, to make provision for their educational needs. Let us look briefly at the work of the principal providers.

UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION

It will be convenient to begin at the University level. In recent years the tendency has been for the extra-mural wing of the University (formerly the Institute of Extension Studies, now the Department of Continuing Education⁹) to reduce its direct involvement in inner city adult education and revert to a more traditional role in which the emphasis is on training and research rather than face to face teaching. When the five-year action-research programme initiated by the Institute of Extension Studies came to an end in 1977 the Institute was committed to two significant inner city teaching projects – Second Chance to Learn and the Writers' Workshops. Both of

these were important, and they will be treated separately below. Here we need merely note that Second Chance has recently been transferred to the Local Education Authority, and that the Writers' Workshops are now almost alone in offering teaching opportunities with inner city students.

This does not mean, however, that the University has ceased to be concerned with community and inner city problems. On the contrary, the period of experimentation has produced valuable lessons, which have been in large measure absorbed into the normal extra-mural teaching and research programme. This was, it may be recalled, exactly what had been anticipated when the action-research project began in 1972.¹⁰

The change is reflected in the programme of University Extension courses in Liverpool for 1986-87. A feature of the list is the very substantial number of courses devoted to social issues, among them several of special relevance to the inner city, e.g. Police, Law, and the Black Community; Anti-Racist Child Care and Pre-school work; Health Issues in the Inner City; and Welfare Rights Advocacy. These were short courses (10 lectures), but there is also on offer a two-year day-release course, one day a week, leading to a Diploma in Ethnic Studies, with the possibility of an M.A. in Ethnic Studies and Race Relations, arranged on similar lines, to follow. Both these award-bearing courses are organized by the Department of Continuing Education in collaboration with the Department of Sociology; and the same two Departments are shortly to embark on a three-year contract, under the auspices of the Commission for Racial Equality, for the professional in-service training of community relations officers.¹¹

Another social issue, not without relevance to the inner city, is the position of women, represented in the list by nine courses, including *The Future of Motherhood*; *Women's History*, *Women's Lives* (a free course in association with Second Chance); *Women and the Welfare State*; and *Assertiveness Training*. The important issue of adult education and the unemployed, which has been the subject of a two-year research programme financially supported by the Department of Education and Science through its REPLAN organization, is represented by a course in *Creative Writing*, offered free in the Unemployed Centre in the outer suburb of Speke.¹²

Community history also has recently been arousing great interest. The current prospectus has courses dealing with local communities in South Liverpool, and with the Liverpool Irish; and a one-day school on recent research into local history includes addresses on the Welsh in Liverpool and on a dockland community in Vauxhall.

Most of the courses are held in the University precinct, which is just on the edge of the inner city area, but apart from the two free courses referred to none is aimed specifically at inner city residents. The courses dealing with

community problems are directed either towards the training of community workers or towards creating a greater awareness of these problems among the general public. The Government's financial policies now make it necessary to charge substantial fees (e.g. £14 for a course of 10 lectures), and in spite of concessions to pensioners, the unemployed, and others in poor financial circumstances, many ordinary inner city residents are effectively excluded.

The strong emphasis on social and community issues reflects not only the long-standing policy of the University's extra-mural department but also the special interests of many individual members of the teaching staff. The fact that the University's first Professor of Continuing Education, Dr. Noel Boaden,¹³ was formerly Senior Lecturer in Sociology and Dean of the Faculty of Social and Environmental Studies, has greatly facilitated cooperation on this front, and in 1986 this cooperation led to the launching of the University's first part-time degree course – a five-year course requiring attendance on two days per week. This marks a great step forward in facilitating access by students who have missed the opportunity of higher education in earlier life.

Research into urban community problems has now assumed an international dimension. The Faculty of Education and Extension Studies has a special Centre for Community and Educational Policy Studies, and has established close links with a number of foreign universities, especially Boston in the U.S.A. In 1986 Liverpool had the honour of hosting the Fulbright Colloquium on "Regenerating the Cities: the U.K. Crisis and the American Experience."

THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

The local W.E.A., meanwhile, under the leadership of the District Secretary, David Connor, has fought gallantly on in the front line, always understaffed, always underfunded, but never giving up. Both locally and nationally the W.E.A. welcomed the recommendations of the Russell Report, and the responsibility laid on the Association to give particular attention to education for the socially and culturally deprived in urban areas.¹⁴ In Liverpool the Second Chance course was, of course, a major commitment, of which more later. The District's first concern, however, was to continue the type of community education pioneered by Lovett in the years of the Educational Priority Area. The Department of Education and Science was sympathetic, and agreed to maintain its grant towards a tutor for inner Liverpool. Unfortunately owing to lack of supporting funds the post has been frozen since 1985.

The work is not easily described: by its nature it was flexible, informal, and constantly varied in character. One approach, the community development approach, was through educational assistance to community action. Connor gives a graphic example from 1977, following the publication of the Summary Report of the Liverpool Inner Area Study. At short notice the W.E.A. provided educational material, and appropriate accompanying courses, for members of about 20 interested community groups. Representatives of these groups later combined to produce a collective statement, *In Our Liverpool Home*, for presentation to the Secretary of State for the Environment.¹⁵ Connor also describes an occasion in 1981 when, over three nights, more than 500 students from inner city courses and discussion groups went to see Willy Russell's *Educating Rita* at the Liverpool Playhouse. Many had never visited a theatre before.¹⁶

Courses for parents formed an important and interesting part of the work. Eric Midwinter, Director of the Educational Priority Area, had attached great importance to parent-teacher relationships, and the W.E.A. received much assistance from Priority – an organization set up by Midwinter when the E.P.A. came to an end in 1971.¹⁷

The W.E.A. worked with parent groups at various levels, from mothers and toddlers upwards, the common aim being to widen horizons and deepen understanding of child development and child education. The approaches used, and the topics dealt with, varied widely. The Kensington Wednesday Club, for example (originally a mothers' and toddlers' group), turned its attention to social problems affecting inner city children, e.g. juvenile delinquency, vandalism, and youth unemployment. They reinforced their discussions by meetings with local councillors and a local M.P., and by a visit to a youth training centre and two W.E.A. weekend schools at the northern College in Yorkshire. Two other groups, connected with inner city primary schools, preferred to approach environmental problems through the study of local history, leading eventually to guided tours for both parents and children.¹⁸

The Association's involvement in literacy teaching dated back, as we have seen, to the beginning of the University Settlement Scheme in 1971.¹⁹ Its most valuable contribution was through its "intermediate" courses for those who had already mastered the basic principles of literacy. The courses continued until 1983, but had to be abandoned "because the growth potential was so great and the demand so constant throughout the year ... that it required resources totally beyond those available"²⁰

This same year, 1983, brought yet another sphere of action, for it was in this year, for the first time in history, that the average monthly total of people unemployed rose above 3 millions. The W.E.A.'s Biennial Conference responded by calling on the Association to make education for the

unemployed a priority task. In Liverpool the overall percentage of unemployed workers rose from 15.7 in January 1979, to 27.5 in January 1985; and in the Liverpool 8 postal district, which corresponds roughly with Toxteth, the figure at the latter date was 39.6.²¹ The W.E.A. had made a tentative beginning in tackling the problem in 1981, when a pioneer course was run in collaboration with the Cooperative Education Committee.²²

In 1983 a full-time organizing tutor was appointed to develop the work, and over the next three years a very substantial programme of activities was built up, much of it in the "unemployed resource centres" which were now being established in many parts of the city. Once again however, the W.E.A.'s resources were not sufficient to maintain the project, and when the organizing tutor resigned in 1986 the post remained unfilled.²³

An unpublished report by Rachel Braddock on a day school held in Liverpool in 1985 on "The W.E.A. and the Future of Inner City Education,"²⁴ refers to two factors which had contributed to the success of the W.E.A. up to that date. One was the establishment in 1974 of a separate Inner City Sub-Branch; the other was a willingness to organize meetings and courses outside the conventional settings of schools and libraries, e.g. in community centres, in a health centre, in Home Link centres, in the Victoria Settlement, in the Charles Wootton Centre for black students, and in the Windsor Street English Language Centre for English as a second language.²⁵

Since 1985, however, the signs of financial pressure have become increasingly obvious - the abandonment of the Intermediate Literacy courses, the vacant tutorship, and finally the transfer of the Second Chance course to the Local Education Authority. In 1974 W.E.A. students in Liverpool postal districts 7 and 8, which may be taken as fairly representative of the inner city area, accounted for 23 per cent of the total Liverpool enrolment:²⁶ by 1985-86 the figure barely exceeded 10 per cent.²⁷

THE LOCAL AUTHORITY

The Local Education Authority, as the largest provider of post-school education, has become the residuary legatee for many of the inner city projects described above.

In 1977, as we have seen, ²⁸ it assumed full responsibility for the literacy campaign originally organized by the University Settlement. Over the next

few years the work expanded to include numeracy and other forms of basic education. The Adult Centre in Canning Street continues to serve as the main base for student referral, the organization of one-to-one tuition, the training of tutors, and the preparation of teaching material. Group teaching has also been made available in a variety of L.E.A. settings, from primary schools to colleges of further education. A score of Reading Clubs, in colleges, libraries, and elsewhere, bring together students and volunteer tutors and provide further opportunities for one-to-one instruction. One College of Further Education has a Mathematics Club on similar lines.

The teaching of English as a second language, which came under L.E.A. control at the same time as literacy teaching, was organized on similar lines, and now has its own centre in Windsor Street. Some students are doubly disadvantaged, being illiterate in their native language as well as in English. In general the teaching is focussed on the use of English for everyday living, but courses are also arranged linking language use to special skills, for example office skills, hairdressing or engineering. The courses are intended for people of Chinese, Asian, European or African backgrounds.

The latest L.E.A. return, for a week in November, 1986, shows 1116 adult students receiving tuition in literacy, 749 in numeracy, 284 in both – a total of 2149. Most were receiving group or class tuition, only 289 literacy students and 10 numeracy students receiving instruction solely through one-to-one teaching. Students in English as a second language numbered 399 of whom 46 were being taught one-to-one. There are no course fees.

By 1978 the Adult Education Centre in Upper Parliament Street, established four years earlier, as part of the Inner Area Study, mainly to meet the needs of young blacks,²⁹ had got into difficulties – chiefly it seems because the premises were unsuitable. The City Council was obliged to go to the rescue and assume financial responsibility. More suitable premises were found in the same area, and the name was changed to the Charles Wootton Centre for Further Education. Its aim is still to provide educational and training opportunities for black adults, and it is financed mainly through the L.E.A.³⁰

The Vauxhall Adult Education Project was municipalized in 1986. Launched in 1977, the Project operated under the auspices of the Vauxhall Neighbourhood Council, which had been set up three years earlier at the conclusion of the Home Office Community Development Project for the area.³¹ Amongst other things the Council took over responsibility for adult education, and through the Adult Education Project it had built up, by the time of the takeover, a remarkable programme of day and evening classes, including basic literacy and numeracy, a wide range of O-levels with emphasis on Social Studies, A-level English Literature, crafts, music, art, drama, health education, and some language classes.

In spirit, as the following statement illustrates, the work owed much to the University-W.E.A. Second Chance course:

"We work on the assumption that the students have, for a variety of reasons, had an unsatisfactory primary experience in education Accordingly we designed a programme which makes access as easy as possible. All classes are free, times are flexible, classes can take place in any building which facilitates accessibility ... we are open all the year round and encourage students to begin at any point in the year at whatever level they choose."³²

The organizers claimed that the number of O-level passes and the number of students going on to further and higher education demonstrated the quality of the work, and added:

"It would appear that the informality of classes and groups plus the dedication of modelling the provision to suit individual students, when and where they require their education, is crucial to the success of the programme."³³

By and large this was a very notable contribution to community education in a poor area of the city. As with many voluntary organizations, of course, finance was the weakness. At this time support came mainly from the Manpower Services Commission, which paid for most of the tutors, but the funding was always temporary and uncertain, premises were inadequate, and staff were mostly on short-term contracts. It was this situation which led to the city takeover in 1986, with educational responsibility passing to the City College of Further Education.

The same combination of problems – finance and accommodation – led to the agreement under which, in 1987, the City College took over the arrangements for the Second Chance course.³⁴

Even without these recent additions, the Authority's programme, as displayed in its autumn guide for 1986-87, *Learning in Liverpool*, is sufficiently impressive. From September 1986 the city's eight Colleges of Further Education have been grouped into four, each offering, on two or more sites, in addition to its technical and vocational specialisms, a range of general, non-vocational or pre-vocational adult education courses, from basic literacy and numeracy upwards. From the same date most of the city's secondary schools have been reorganized as Community Comprehensive Schools, each with its own Adult Centre. Taking into account also the provision made by the Parent Centres of some primary schools, the Authority can rightly claim that its facilities for adult education are now widely spread.

The great advantage of the Authority's provision is that its many institutions, and especially the Colleges of Further Education, can offer not only basic

courses specially tailored to the needs of the disadvantaged, but also a succession of follow-up courses, to carry those able and willing right through to higher education. The University-W.E.A. Second Chance to Learn course brought some of its students to this level, and a rather similar course has been operating for some years at what used to be the Old Swan College, but the four new Colleges can offer a much greater variety of opportunities. The new central college, the City College, provides a conventional approach to higher education through its wide range of O-level and A-level courses. The other three all offer various types of "access to higher education" courses - for science and technology, for business and legal studies, for those aiming at mature matriculation, for black students, for students for whom English is a second language. The Colleges also offer special courses for women, for the unemployed, and for the elderly.¹⁵

The school-based Adult Centres are naturally more modest in their offerings. Apart from Basic English and basic Mathematics, which are now commonly available in appropriate centres, most programmes are still fairly conventional - arts and crafts, domestic and recreational subjects, motor-car maintenance, elementary language courses for tourists and so forth - but we also find the occasional O-level course, with English literature as a favourite choice. A special Centre caters for adult slow-learners, another (not school-based) for the deaf.

Within the limits of its now straitened resources, the Authority has done its utmost to facilitate the attendance of the poor and the disadvantaged. Unemployed students, and those attending courses in basic English, basic Mathematics, and English as a second language, are all admitted free. Old age pensioners are admitted free at Adult Centres, and can ask for exemption at Colleges of Further Education. Facilities for the handicapped seem to be limited but child care is available in connection with many courses.

Apart from the figures given above,¹⁶ we do not know precisely how many disadvantaged people actually use the facilities just described - nor, since the provision is city-wide, what proportion of these people are inner city residents. The Authority's Adviser for Adult Education, however, can rightly claim that its educational establishments, stimulated both by national initiatives and by local endeavours, are increasingly sensitive to tackling the problems of educational disadvantage. He notes that in spite of the absence of supporting statistics, "comparing 1984-85 with 1974-75 the expansion would be large."¹⁷

In recent years the City Library service has added a new dimension to Local Authority adult education. Activities such as assistance with publicity for adult classes, loan of books for student use, the occasional use of premises, had long been customary, but the libraries have now extended their range by giving special support to arrangements for basic education and English as a

second language. Specially selected materials have been provided for teachers and students; and libraries are currently in use by eight "Reading Clubs"¹⁸ for literacy students. Assistance is also given to the work of parent support groups and writing workshops. The possibility of seconding a library officer specially to develop this work is being actively explored.¹⁹

Bearing in mind the financial and political difficulty the Local Authority has had to face, both nationally and locally, its contribution to the education of the deprived and disadvantaged must be regarded as notable. Like Julie O'Neill, whose work in the literacy field we have referred to above,²⁰ I suspect there is still "a hard core" of people who remain unaffected by all the efforts made to assist them, but I believe this will always be so. At least the attempt is being made.

SECOND CHANCE TO LEARN

The beginnings of this course – a product of the University's action-research project – have been described above.⁴¹ In 1980 Judith Edwards was appointed by the W.E.A. to evaluate the work, and a valuable critical analysis from her pen was published in 1986.⁴² By this time, thanks in part to the actual process of evaluation, the structure, content, and teaching methods of the course had changed considerably. It had now become a 30-day course, one day a week over three terms, with two groups of 30 students each, attending on different days. Historical study had been reduced to a two-hour afternoon seminar each day on "Merseyside in Context", which also included local politics and the local economy. The mornings were occupied in the first two terms by a writers' workshop and a study skills workshop, and in the third term by a journalism and media studies course. Weekly tutorials remained a vital part of the course, and students had the opportunity of attending a residential week-end course at the Northern College in Yorkshire.

The student mix remained much as before, but we now have a more detailed breakdown: 46 per cent men, 54 per cent women; ages under 20 to over 60, but two-thirds under 40; social class, by census classification, 57 per cent skilled workers, 16 per cent semi-skilled, 27 per cent unskilled; 31 per cent unemployed; more than 90 per cent had left school at the minimum school leaving age.⁴³ It was the success of the appeal to this last category which marked the Liverpool Second Chance course off from other courses under similar names – "Second Chance", "New Opportunities", "New Horizons", and the like – which have been organized elsewhere, though some of these

have been successful in appealing to other deprived groups, for example, women, and ethnic minority groups.

The fundamental goal of the course, Mrs Edwards tells us, has remained unaltered, namely "to develop a group of citizens who understand critically their place in society and who will use their understanding to work with others to create change."⁴⁴ The tutors were still committed to this goal, and so, presumably, were the "activists" among the students (those active in trade union or community work) who commonly formed about one-third of the total. Of the remaining students, some had vocational ambitions, but most seem to have been there precisely because the course offered "a Second Chance" - "a chance", as one student put it, "to learn again, to make up for what I had missed."⁴⁵

Not surprisingly, there were always some students who objected that the course was "one-sided",⁴⁶ and a few actually left because they did not feel free to express their opinions. At the end of almost every term there were vigorous debates and discussions on this problem. The tutors have rejected as an illusion the notion of "neutral", "subjective", "value-free" teaching, but as time has gone on various safeguards have been built into the course to avoid the dangers of indoctrination. Judith Edwards cites, in this connection, the students' handbook for 1980, which warns students that the history course is "in no way a complete account of the development of Britain or Liverpool over the last two centuries": it merely selects those events and features which the tutors consider important. Theirs is "not the only possible interpretation of events", and students are at liberty to challenge it. To assist them each week's reading list recommends a book or article representing a different viewpoint.⁴⁷

Whatever the doubts and problems about this course there is no question that it has introduced to adult education, and to the techniques of rigorous study, some hundreds of students who would probably never have been persuaded to join a more conventional University or W.E.A. course. Most important of all, most of them have gone on to further education. A questionnaire sent out in 1983 to 253 former students brought replies from 115, of whom 86 per cent had proceeded to further courses, including degree courses (18 per cent) and Open University courses (3 per cent).⁴⁸ When Martin Yarnit left in 1984 he was replaced as a member of the course team by Eddie Barrett, a former Second Chance student who had graduated at Liverpool University in the previous year.

Finance, of course, as we have noted above,⁴⁹ has been a constant problem, with costs in the session 1986-87 rising to over £100,000. The difficulty has now been resolved by transferring the course to the City College of Further Education, with financial responsibility passing to the L.E.A. The University and W.E.A. hope to retain some link, perhaps through an advisory

committee, but this is not certain; nor do we know whether, under these new auspices, it will be possible to maintain the relatively high staff-student ratio which has been so important a factor in the success of the course.

WRITERS' WORKSHOPS

It should be said that the Eddie Barrett just mentioned, who describes himself as "ex-seaman, ex-building worker, ex-taxi driver, etc.",⁵⁰ is not only a former Second Chance student but also a member of the Scottie Writers' group, which developed in the '80s out of the Scotland Road Writers' Workshop launched by David Evans in 1973.

That original Workshop has had a considerable progeny in and around Liverpool, and although individual workshops have come and gone, the movement as a whole remains healthy and lively. There are usually about half a dozen workshops in the inner area, and at the present time those in Liverpool 8 include two mainly for black students – a Poetry Workshop and a Women Writers' Workshop.⁵¹

An important offshoot in the late '70s was a Playwrights' Workshop – again mainly working-class – conducted by David Evans. This has helped to launch quite a number of people on professional or semi-professional writing careers – notably Jimmy McGovern, now well known to the public as a writer for the Channel 4 television series *Brookside*. The Scottie Writers' group also has an offshoot in Vauxy Theatre, which puts on shows and sketches. In recent years hopeful inner city writers have received generous help from such established professionals as Alan Bleasdale and Willy Russell.

A Merseyside Writers' Association, which links inner city groups; Merseyside Playwrights, bringing together former members of the Playwrights' Workshop; and a countrywide Federation of Worker Writers and Community Publishers, with thirty member groups, complete the success story.⁵²

Interest in this field has now spread far beyond the inner city, and writing courses at various levels are now on offer by the University, the W.E.A., and Colleges of Further Education in many parts of Merseyside. There are also many autonomous groups, meeting independently. The exact extent of participation by inner city residents is impossible to determine, but David Evans, who is in touch with a great deal of this work, is satisfied that the

various courses, groups and workshops do, in general, serve the needs of aspirant inner city writers.⁵³ He mentions also the work of the writer in residence at the Liverpool Playhouse, whose advice and encouragement sessions, open to all, often draw in working-class people.

Evans draws attention to the important contribution being made by Merseyside Arts, for example by assistance to black writers. An evening recently arranged, in collaboration with the City Library, brought together sixty or more people, mostly young blacks, to hear black writers from Liverpool and Manchester reading their work. This was at the Edge Hill Library in Lodge Lane, an area in the centre of the 1981 troubles. It is now hoped that it may be possible for Merseyside Arts to fund a writer in residence for the black community.⁵⁴

In 1986 Television's Channel 4, in collaboration with the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit, launched a series of ten half-hour programmes under the title *Write On*, the object being to encourage people to write at whatever level of skill they possessed. In support of this programme, representatives of writers' groups and adult education organizations in Liverpool and district got together, under the leadership of Anne Stobart of the Canning Street Adult Centre, to produce a local directory of basic writing courses, writers' workshops, playwrights' workshops, poetry groups, and the like. The City Library happily collaborated in a series of library-based writing events and exhibitions.

The directory, *Writing in Merseyside*, includes not only information but also contributions from a number of people associated with writers' groups. Jimmy McGovern, for example, describes how, after an unhappy experience as a "scholarship boy" in a local grammar school, and a succession of unsatisfactory jobs, the Scotland Road Writers' Workshop supported and encouraged him, and awakened his dormant literary skills.⁵⁵ Winifred Froom, a member of the Old Swan Writers' Workshop, writes:

"These workshops have mushroomed, they seem to spring up overnight. Their value is inestimable, their criticism invaluable, and although their members may not produce bestsellers, there is no doubt they have helped tremendously to make ordinary people more articulate, and inspired them with confidence to express themselves on paper"⁵⁶

Willy Russell relates how in Athens he was introduced to the largely Greek audience with the words: "Mr Russell comes from Liverpool - a city in which working-class men and women write poetry."⁵⁷

The Writers' Workshops and Second Chance to Learn are closely linked, both taking working-class experience as their starting-point. They are

different sides of the same coin. Together they have made a significant cultural impact on working-class Liverpool.

A PERSONAL COMMENT

This leads me to a final personal comment on the theory and practice of community adult education. The concept has been much criticized on account of its vagueness and the way in which it appears to confuse adult education and social work. The apparent vagueness and confusion, however, are of the essence of community adult education, in which adult educationists and community workers combine to operate in what is basically an experimental situation. At the outset everything is bound to be tentative and the results are usually unpredictable. It is only as the work proceeds that the limits of what is possible can be perceived, and a firmer outline for future activity can emerge: and it is only at this stage that the respective contributions of the adult educator and the community worker can be more clearly distinguished. Unfortunately, because of funding difficulties, most of the experiments so far conducted have been too short-lived to do more than lay the foundations on which future work might be built.

Those accustomed to the highly structured teaching situations of conventional adult education are also apt to complain that much of what passes for adult education in the community development context is not really education at all. The term "learning situation" has sometimes been used to refer to the less formal types of instruction, notably by Gerry Fowler, a former Minister of State for Education, in an address to the Annual Conference of the National Institute of Adult Education in 1975. He declared:

"Just as methods are now used in nursery and primary schooling which could have seemed to our grandfathers to be quite out of place in an educational context, so it can be argued that the old concept of education as instruction given in structured learning situations is becoming increasingly inapposite. Almost any situation may be a learning situation, formal instruction is not a necessary part of education, and there is a very wide range of materials, tools and equipment which may be relevant to the educational process."¹⁴

To the purist, however, even this is unacceptable. Kenneth Lawson argues that a learning situation can only be regarded as educational if it has specified learning objectives, specified standards of achievement, and an appropriate

learning strategy worked out with the conscious participation of the learner.⁵⁹ Distinctions of this kind, of course, are just a matter of definition, and it seems simpler to recognize that there are many educational stopping places between the kind of incidental learning which Lovett and others have referred to as "learning through doing",⁶⁰ and the formal and purposive procedures of, say, a University tutorial class. Which of these we choose to define as coming within the scope of adult education depends on the context within which we are working.

A more serious complaint is that even when community adult education takes a more formal shape it is still not educationally valid because it is "instrumental", i.e. it is directed to some purpose outside education. "Education", declares R.W.K. Paterson, "cannot survive as a servant, even to the greatest social causes," and applying this to community adult education he refers to an "incestuous marriage of educators and social reformers".⁶¹ Here I think we need to distinguish between the attitude of the tutor and the attitude of the students. For many adult students (I suspect most adult students), adult education classes are "instrumental". They attend, not just out of intellectual curiosity, but for their own good reasons - personal, domestic, vocational, political, or whatever they may be. Paul Joyce perceives this when, in an effective rejoinder to Paterson, he points out that

"Students are not computers. Any knowledge they acquire is not passively assimilated; it reacts upon and interacts with their existing knowledge, with their cultural traits, with their aspirations, interests and motivational factors, and becomes another strand in the evaluation of their personal values and beliefs."⁶²

This is all right and proper. What is quite wrong is for the tutor to use his prestige and his special knowledge as an instrument for some ulterior purpose. As Paterson says, "An adult educator who uses adult education to promote the social policies of his preference is betraying the educational engagement."⁶³ Complete objectivity, of course, is more than we can hope to attain, as Second Chance tutors constantly declared, but unlike them I believe it is an ideal towards which we should constantly strive. To argue otherwise is like saying that because accidents happen on motorways there is no obligation to drive carefully. This does not preclude the discussion of contentious issues, political or any other: on the contrary, it is very desirable that such issues should be discussed. The Russell Report puts the matter admirably: "Society needs an educational forum in which controversial issues can be studied, and we believe that adult education should be free to explore such areas fully."⁶⁴

Adult education, as represented especially by the universities and W.E.A., has indeed long since learnt how to deal with such matters in a non-partisan way.⁶⁵ It is certainly not necessary to *identify* with one side or the other,

though for the teacher working amid surroundings of poverty and deprivation the temptation to do so, and to translate conviction into action, must be very strong.⁶⁶

It was precisely on the question of identification with one side in a controversial subject that the views of Keith Jackson and his colleagues diverged from the established tradition of university adult education. This approach was not novel: it represented the conflict mode in adult education as opposed to the consensus mode. In a classification of tutors' attitudes it would take its place near the revolutionary end of a scale extending from revolution through reform to maintenance and conservation.⁶⁷ A very similar theory, based on the Marxian doctrine of conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, had underlain the very effective educational work carried out by the National Council of Labour Colleges for more than half a century prior to its dissolution in 1965. In inner city Liverpool in the 1970s, the justification for this approach was that in a very difficult experimental situation it seemed to offer hope of a response – and a response, in the end, it certainly produced. As Jackson recognized, however, the theory was not one that could long form the basis for any kind of university adult education, and in a key statement he took care to distance this experimental work from the Institute of Extension Studies.⁶⁸ Lovett in Ireland, as we have seen, took a similar view, and secured the creation of an independent organization.⁶⁹

To sum up, we now know that working people in inner city areas *can* be interested in adult education. As Lovett demonstrated so effectively in the Liverpool Educational Priority Area, and Jackson and his colleagues showed once more in Vauxhall, it is a very difficult task, requiring special techniques of organization and teaching. It needs to be more responsive to students' needs and wishes. What we cannot regard as proved, however, is that inner city adult education can be valid and successful only as an instrument of "the class struggle". An approach from this angle may indeed be successful in attracting some students, but its success is achieved only at the cost of excluding others – people who feel, as some of the defectors from the Second Chance course felt, that the presentation is one-sided; people who do not believe in the class struggle; and the many people who are just interested in other things – above all in the possibility of making good educational ground lost in the past. It is this earnest desire to retrieve missed opportunities, I believe, that offers the best and firmest foundation for the development of inner city adult education.

NOTES

PROLOGUE

1. Sir John Gorst, quoted W. Reason (ed.), *University and Social Settlements* (1898), p.45.
2. I write here only of the university settlements proper, and not of the many settlements established by other organizations (mostly religious organizations) on the same or similar lines.
3. Henrietta Barnett, *Canon Barnett: his Life, Work and Friends* (2v.1919); J.A.R. Pimlott, *Toynbee Hall* (1935); Asa Briggs and Anne Macartney, *Toynbee Hall: the First Hundred Years* (1984).
4. Barnett, *op. cit.*, I, pp.207, 340.
5. Briggs and Macartney, *op. cit.*, p.29.
6. *Op. cit.*, p.30, quoting Toynbee Hall, *Annual Report*, 1886.
7. *Ibid.*, quoting *Toynbee Record*, October 1888.
8. Mary D. Stocks, *Fifty Years in Every Street: the Story of the Manchester University Settlement* (1945, 2nd edn. 1956), p.18.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Now British Association of Settlements and Social Action Centres.
11. M.M. Coady, *Masters of their Own Destiny* (New York 1939); A.F. Laidlaw, *The Campus and the Community: the Global Impact of the Antigonish Movement* (Montreal 1961); Jim Lotz, "The Antigonish Movement: a Critical Analysis," in *Studies in Adult Education*, Vol.V, No.2 (October 1973), pp.97-112.
12. H.Y. McClusky, "Community Development", in M.S. Knowles (ed.), *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States of America* (1960), Ch.35 - a useful brief survey with special reference to the educational value of community development. For the transition from developing

to developed countries, and from rural to urban, see Peter du Sautoy and R.D. Waller, "Community Development and Adult Education in Urban Areas", in *International Review of Community Development*, 1961, No.8, pp.33-50.

13. G.W. Goetschius, *Working with Community Groups: Using Community Development as a Method of Social Work* (1969).
14. *Op. cit.*, p.154.
15. *Op. cit.*, p.xvi.
16. See above, p.2.
17. *Op. cit.*, p.183.
18. The term "disadvantaged" as an omnibus term for all categories of the deprived, came into use in American educational literature in the late 'sixties, and became common in this country following the publication in 1972 of Peter Clyne's *The Disadvantaged Adult* - a study carried out for the Russell Committee (see below).
19. John Lowe, "Themes of the Tokyo Conference", in *Studies in Adult Education*, Vol.5, No.1 (April 1973), pp.5-6, 13. The quotations from the Conference Report, which was published by UNESCO in 1972, are taken from this article.
20. Department of Education and Science, *Adult Education: a Plan for Development*, [Russell Report], p.iv.
21. UNESCO, *Third World Conference on Adult Education, 1972: Developments in Adult Education in the United Kingdom 1960-70*, pp.7-8.
22. *Russell Report*, as cited above, note 20. See especially Recommendations 30 and 52-55.
23. It is tempting to link the cool reception given to the Report with the fact that it had been commissioned by a Labour Government and was now received by a Conservative Government, but the truth is that no post-war Government of any complexion has shown much active interest in non-vocational adult education. Edward Heath's Conservative Government was in fact facing serious economic difficulties at this time.
24. International Bureau of Education and UNESCO, *Literacy and Education for Adults, XXVIIth International Conference on Public Education, Geneva 1964*, p.164.

25. Bridget O'Brien-Twohig, "Cambridge House Literacy Scheme," in *Adult Education*, Vol.45, No.3 (September 1972), pp.146-9; W.A. Devereux, *Adult Education in Inner London, 1870-1980* (1982), pp.216, 269-70. The one-to-one method ("Each one teach one") had been developed in the Philippines in the 1930s by the American Congregational missionary and teacher Frank C. Laubach, and by the time of his retirement in 1954 was known throughout the world.
26. British Association of Settlements, *A Right to Read* (1974), p.5. P. Clyne, *The Disadvantaged* (1972), p.49, also offered the figure of 2 millions for adults "deficient in their basic education." The calculation was, however, full of uncertainties. See T. Kelly and D.G. Irvine, "The Background," in the special literacy issue of *New Library World*, Vol.76, No.896 (February 1975), pp.28-30.
27. John Robinson, *Learning over the Air* (1982), pp.198-9.
28. A similar arrangement was made for Scotland.

SOME LIVERPOOL EXPERIMENTS

1. Constance M. and Harold King, "*The Two Nations*": *the Life and Work of Liverpool University Settlement and its Associated Institutions, 1906-1937* (1938). Harold King was at this time the Settlement Warden.
2. *Op. cit.*, pp.75, 84.
3. *Op. cit.*, pp.72-3; an excellent analysis of the problem of the "non-joiner."
4. On all this see *op. cit.*, Chap.4.
5. Quoted M.B. Simey, *Charitable Effort in Liverpool in the Nineteenth Century* (Liverpool 1951), p.131.
6. The Association was formed in 1920 to bring together Settlements whose main emphasis was on education rather than social missionary work.

7. *Annual Report 1959-60*, and file on Home Making Course, both in University Archives (D45). In dealing with the educational work of the Victoria Settlement I have been indebted for help to the Assistant Archivist, Mr. Adrian Allan, and also to Dr. Michael Rose of Manchester University, who has kindly provided me with information concerning developments in the 'twenties.
8. [H.R. Poole], *The March of the Reinforcements: Experiences of the Liverpool Council of Social Service, 1960-1969* (1970), p.7.
9. *Op. cit.*, p.5.
10. Liverpool Council of Social Service, *Annual Report, 1972*, p.4.
11. On all this see Poole, *op. cit.*, pp.15-17. The University Settlement and the Domestic Mission were both based in Toxteth. The Domestic Mission was a Unitarian foundation, dating from 1836, and dedicated to work among poor people who were outside the orbit of the churches. See the centenary history by Anne Holt, *A Ministry to the Poor* (Liverpool 1936). Both institutions have recently fallen on hard times, but the Settlement is now being reorganized on new lines (see below, p.30), and the Domestic Mission continues to operate, on a reduced scale, in partnership with a Boys' Institute.
In spite of the efforts here recorded, the problems of Toxteth, exacerbated by time and economic depression, gave rise in 1981 to serious and prolonged rioting.
12. Poole, *op. cit.*, p.5.
13. Poole, *op. cit.*, p.10. See also University of Liverpool, Department of Extra-Mural Studies, *Annual Report, 1965-66*, p.5.
14. Poole, *loc. cit.*
15. Liverpool Council for Voluntary Service [formerly Council of Social Service], *Review 76/77*, p.5. The proliferation of residents' groups is noted as early as 1971 - Liverpool Council of Social Service, *Annual Report, 1971*, p.5.
16. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Learning Opportunities for Adults: Vol. III. The Non-Participation Issue* (1979), p.108.
17. John Cunningham, "A Mothers' Union with Muscle in Liverpool 8," in *Guardian*, 21 August 1985.

18. *Change or Decay: Final Report of the Liverpool Inner Area Study* (Department of the Environment, 1977), espec. pp.44-53. Cf. below pp.24-6.
19. A.H. Halsey (ed.), *Educational Priority, Vol.1: E.P.A. Problems and Policies* (1972), Chap.13.
20. Central Advisory Council for Education (England), *Children and their Primary Schools* [Plowden Report], 2v. 1967; Halsey, *op. cit.*, Part I.
21. On the geographical relationship of the various Liverpool schemes, see Department of the Environment, *Change or Decay: Final Report of the Inner Area Study* (1977), pp.1-7, and the maps on pp.12, 14-15.
22. Eric Midwinter, *Priority Education: an Account of the Liverpool Project* (1972) p.11. Cf. Halsey, *op. cit.*, p.57.
23. Midwinter, *op. cit.*, Chap. 1.
24. Most notably in his *Adult Education, Community Development and the Working Class* (1975, 2nd edn. 1982). The account in Halsey, *op. cit.*, pp.159-61, is also by Lovett. Other accounts are to be found in Midwinter, *op. cit.*, (sometimes differing from Lovett in minor details) and in Stephen Brookfield, *Adult Learners, Adult Education and the Community* (1983). pp.118-25.
25. Midwinter, *op. cit.*, p.155.
26. Midwinter, *op. cit.*, pp.155-9; Lovett, *op. cit.*, pp.41-4. Where these two accounts differ in detail, I have followed Lovett.
27. T. Lovett, "Community Adult Education", in *Studies in Adult Education*, Vol.3, No.1 (April 1971), p.3.
28. See above, p.3-4.
29. On all these activities see T. Lovett, *Adult Education, Community Development and the Working Class*, Chap.4; and his article "Liverpool - an Interim Report," in *Adult Education*, Vol.43, No.5 (January 1971), pp.287-93, 298.
30. His undated pamphlets on *How to Run Discussion Groups*, and *Discussion Groups and their Leadership*, were published by the W.E.A during the war, and widely circulated.

31. See the lively account in Lovett, *Adult Education, Community Development, and the Working Class*, pp.80-5.
32. Lovett, *op. cit.*, pp.110-18; [B. Jones and T. Lovett], *Living Today* (B.B.C.[1972]).
33. The term is borrowed from D. Schon, *Beyond the Stable State* (1971).
34. Cf. Department of Education and Science, *Adult Education: a Plan for Development* [Russell Report] (1973), para. 284.
35. On all this see Lovett, *op. cit.*, Chap. 7.
36. *Op. cit.*, p.140.
37. *Op. cit.*, p.141.
38. I quote these words from memory. I have not been able to identify the source, but they are typical of an attitude which persisted until at least the Second World War. G.D.H. Cole, "The Tutor and the Working Class Movement," in *Tutor's Bulletin*, 2nd Ser., No.22 (April 1939), p.8, declares that the university tutor should regard his W.E.A. students as partners with him "in the common purpose of improving the quality of working-class life," and that he should give his "fellowship with the workers" precedence over "any professional loyalty to the University."
39. See his chapter on "Adult Education and Community Action," in Jane L. Thompson (ed.), *Adult Education for a Change* (1980); and especially his chapter on "Adult Education and Community Action: the Northern Ireland Experience," in Colin Fletcher and Neil Thompson, *Issues in Community Education* (1980).
40. Conference Report, *Adult Education for Social Action* (Nottingham University School of Education, 1984).
41. Phil Topping and George Smith, *Government against Poverty? Liverpool Community Development Project, 1970-75* (Oxford 1977), p.4. A careful account, with a useful bibliography.
42. *Op. cit.*, pp.111-13. The authors of this report were members of the Oxford team.
43. Quoted *op. cit.*, p.88. He subsequently identified himself, at a National Community Development Project Conference in York in 1974, with "the Leninist approach of theory linked to social action." The adult educationist, he declared, "cannot be independent of the struggles of

working-class groups" - D. Godman, *Adult Education in Vauxhall*, quoted P.B. Mercer, *The Home Office Experimental Community Development Project in Liverpool* (M.Ed. thesis, Manchester 1977, p.210.)

44. Topping and Smith, *op. cit.*, pp.88-9.
45. *Op. cit.*, p.89. Cf. p.117. It is fair to note that the adult education tutor did not entirely neglect wider community issues. He interested himself in literacy education, promoted theatre-going groups, and did his best to foster dramatic activities within the Vauxhall area.
46. *Op. cit.*, p.35. The Multi-Service Centre also continued in operation.
47. *Report of the Institute of Extension Studies, University of Liverpool, Session 1972-1973* (1973), p.11.
48. *Ibid.* The L.E.A. and the W.E.A. were also involved in the arrangements for the Time Off courses.
49. *Report of the Institute of Extension Studies, University of Liverpool, Session 1973-1974*, p.11. Cf Report for 1975-76, p.15.
50. Scotland Road (locally "Scottie Road") is the main traffic artery passing through Vauxhall. It gave its name also to a very successful local newspaper, the *Scottie Press*, launched by the Community Development Project in 1970, as one of the major initiatives in its first year - Phil Topping and George Smith, *Government against Poverty? Liverpool Community Development Project, 1970-75* (Oxford 1977), pp.62-7.
51. D. Evans, "Writers' Workshops and Adult Education in the Inner City," in *International Journal of University Adult Education*, Vol.XVIII No.3 (November 1979), pp.41-5. The details given above are from pp.42-4. For another account see Evans's chapter in Jane L. Thompson (ed.), *Adult Education for a Change* (1980), pp.141-54.
52. *Report of the Institute of Extension Studies, Session 1974-1975*, pp.13-14.
53. Topping and Smith, *op. cit.*, p.92.
54. Jackson, *Adult Education in a Community Development Project* (unpublished paper, Institute of Extension Studies, 1973), pp.18-19.
55. *Ibid.* It is appropriate to quote here Stuart Marriott's later comment: "To an outsider it appears that much of the work in Liverpool has

tended to underplay the traditional theme of education as a means to personal development." - Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, *Learning Opportunities for Adults: Vol. III, The Non-Participation Issue* (1979), p.131.

56. Jackson and Ashcroft, *Adult Education, Deprivation and Community Development - a Critique* (Nuffield Teacher Enquiry, Conference on Social Deprivation and Change at York, April 1972, Paper No.7, duplicated), pp.10-11. Cf. Chap. 1 of Eric Midwinter's *Priority Education* (1972), which argues for relevance in school education as a starting-point for social change.
57. Jackson and Ashcroft, *op. cit.*, p.15. On the point of relevance see also Jackson, "Some Fallacies in Community Education and their Consequences in Working-class Areas", in Colin Fletcher and Neil Thompson (eds.), *Issues in Community Education* (1980), pp.39-46.
58. Ashcroft and Jackson, "Adult Education and Social Action", in David Jones and Marjorie Mayo (eds.), *Community Work One* (1974), p.49. This chapter is based on a paper under the same title originally written in 1972. The passage here quoted carries echoes of the concept of "conscientization" developed by the South American pioneer of literacy education, Paulo Freire. It implies opening up the student's mind to an understanding of his socio-cultural situation, and thus liberating him to transform that situation. Cf. Jackson, "The Marginality of Community Development: Implications for Adult Education", in *International Review of Community Development*, Nos. 29-30 (1973).
59. Ashcroft and Jackson, *op. cit.*, p.55 (authors' italics).
60. *Op. cit.*, p.63.
61. Ray Lees and George Smith (eds.), *Action Research in Community Development* (1975), pp.40-1. Department of the Environment, *Change or Decay: Final Report of the Liverpool Inner Area Study* (1977), p.4, quotes in this connection the National Community Development Project's *Forward Plan 1975-76* (1975) which rejects both community development and changes in local authority administration as likely to bring about significant social change, arguing that the inequalities in society can only be solved by fundamental changes in the distribution of wealth and power, through a programme of political education.
62. Ashcroft and Jackson, *op. cit.*, p.45.
63. See above, p.20-1.

64. *Op. cit.*, pp.55-60.
65. Martin Yarnit, "Second Chance to Learn, Liverpool," in Jane L. Thompson (ed.) *Adult Education for a Change* (1980), pp.178-9.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Phil Topping and George Smith, *Government against Poverty? Liverpool Community Development Project, 1970-75* (Oxford 1977), p.92. A full account of this episode is given at pp.97-101).
68. This point is further discussed below, pp.47.
69. Department of the Environment, *Change or Decay: Final Report of the Liverpool Inner Area Study* (1977).
70. *Op. cit.*, pp.222-3.
71. *Op. cit.*, pp.223-4.
72. *Op. cit.*, pp.36-7.
73. *Op. cit.*, p.223. (For further detail on all this see Department of the Environment, *Inner Area Study, Liverpool: Adult Education* (1977)).
74. *Op. cit.*, p.224.
75. See above, p.00.
76. M. Yarnit, "Second Chance to Learn Course, Liverpool," in Jane L. Thompson, *Adult Education for a Change* (1980).
77. See above, p.20-1.
78. *Op. cit.*, pp.176, 179.
79. *Op. cit.*, espec. pp.182, 185, 187. Cf. above, pp.21-2.
80. *Op. cit.*, p.182.
81. *Op. cit.*, pp.190-1.
82. See above, p.7.
83. See above, *ibid.*

84. Report on the Adult Literacy Scheme, in Liverpool University Settlement, *Annual Report 1971-72*.
85. Julie O'Neill, "The Failures of Literacy Schemes", in *Adult Education*, Vol.47, No.6 (March 1975), pp.356-63.
86. *Ibid.*, p.361.
87. Information from Mr F.D. Connor, W.E.A. District Secretary.
88. On this development, and especially on the work of the Central College for Further Education, see Pat Stowell, "The Problems and Rewards of a College-based Literacy Scheme", in *Adult Education*, Vol.47, No.5 (January 1975), pp.285-9.
89. Margaret Ben-Tovim and R.J. Kedney (eds.) *Aspects of Adult Illiteracy* (Merseyside and District Institute of Adult Education and Cheshire County Council, 1974). Robert Kedney was at this time Adviser for Further and Adult Education in Bolton.
90. *Op. cit.*, Part I, Chap.2.
91. See above, p.7-8.
92. For many of these details I am indebted to Margaret Ben-Tovim and David Connor.
93. Liverpool Adult Literacy Project, *Where are they Now?* [1976].
94. Both these letters were reproduced in a Settlement Information Pack in 1974, and also in Ben-Tovim and Kedney, *Aspects of Adult Illiteracy*, cited above.
95. thick.
96. DIVE, i.e. DIVVY, slang for stupid person.
97. Liverpool University Settlement, *Report '74* (including an article by Graham Riches on "Liverpool University Settlement, 1971-74," reprinted from *University of Liverpool Recorder*, No.66 (1974); Liverpool University Settlement, *Minutes of the Annual General Meeting* (18 January 1975); T. Kelly, *For Advancement of Learning* (1981), p.262; Liverpool Settlement (South), *A New Beginning: Report and Accounts 1987*.

EPILOGUE

1. See above, p.6.
2. E.g. the Danish observer Leif Haar, in *Adult Education*, Vol.50, No.5 (Jan. 1978, p.317.
3. See above, p.8.
4. John Robinson, *Learning over the Air* (B.B.C. 1982), pp.198-203. For more detailed accounts see David Hargreaves, *Adult Literacy and Broadcasting: the B.B.C.'s Experience* (1980); Charles Mayo, "Different Ways to Help", in *Independent Broadcasting*, No.17 (Aug. 1978); and especially David Stringer's illuminating report, *Make it Count: a Study* (I.B.A. 1979).
5. ALBSU, *Literacy, Numeracy and Adults* (1987), pp.14-15. The National Child Development Study has sought to follow the progress of all those born in Great Britain during the week 3-9 March, 1958, a total of some 17,000 people.
6. *Guardian*, 7 Feb. 1987.
7. Formerly the National Institute of Adult Education. The change was made in 1983. The clumsy North American term "Continuing Education" has in recent years been incorporated in, or substituted for, the names of many English adult education organizations, because "adult education" has traditionally been associated mainly with non-vocational education.
8. A partnership between Government, the City Council, and the Area Health Authority, launched in 1979 under the auspices of the Department of the Environment.
9. The new organization evolved over a period of two years (1983-85). The Department of Continuing Education and the Department of Education now constitute the University's Faculty of Education and Extension Studies.
10. See above, p.20.
11. *University of Liverpool Recorder*, No.102 (Feb. 1987), pp.41-2.
12. Joy Groombridge (ed.), *Learning for a Change* (NIACE 1987), pp.6-7 describes the research project.

13. Appointed in 1985.
14. See above, p.6-7.
15. D. Connor, "Some Developments in the Workers' Educational Association," in N. Costello and M. Richardson (eds.), *Continuing Education for the Industrial Society* (1982), p.109. It is interesting to compare this venture with the educational work undertaken by the University Extension team in connection with the 1972 Housing Finance Act (above, 20-1, 24).
16. *Op. cit.*, p.113.
17. Midwinter hoped that Priority would serve as a national focus for community education, but after his departure to London in 1975 it concentrated on local projects, with special emphasis on home-school relations. Home Link, a Pre-school Parent Association, developed under its auspices. I am indebted to Dr. Midwinter for information on these points.
18. Bob and Rachel Braddock, *W.E.A. Work with Parents and Children in Liverpool's Inner City Area* (duplicated, W.E.A. West Lancashire and Cheshire District 1985). (Now published - see below, note 24).
19. See above, pp.29 sqq.
20. David Connor to the author, 4 Feb. 1987.
21. Liverpool City Planning Office, *Liverpool's Economy: Employment and Unemployment Changes and Trends, 1978-1991* (1985), pp.19, 26-7.
22. More than sixty students from this course were among the 500 who went to see *Educating Rita* at the Liverpool Playhouse.
23. The work is recorded in the unpublished Annual Reports of the organizing tutor, Liz Smith, to the W.E.A. District, 1983-86.
24. Now published by the West Lancashire and Cheshire District (1987), along with the report by Bob and Rachel Braddock referred to above, note 18.
25. These examples are from a letter by David Connor to the author, 2 Mar. 1987.
26. Department of Environment, *Inner Area Study, Liverpool: Adult Education* (1977) p.18.

27. David Connor to the author, 4 Feb. 1987.
28. See above, p.29.
29. See above, p.25.
30. Charles Wootton was a coloured man who died during rioting in Liverpool in 1919. He jumped into the River Mersey to escape a fleeing mob, and apparently drowned.
31. See above, pp.00-00.
32. *Report on the Vauxhall Adult Education Programme* (Jan. 1985), p.1.
33. *Op. cit.*, p.24.
34. See below, pp.42-3.
35. Joy Groombridge (ed.) *Learning for a Change* (NIACE 1987), describes projects at Old Swan for the unemployed and the elderly.
36. P.38.
37. E.W. Davies to the author, 8 Apr. 1987.
38. See above, p.38.
39. Information from the City Librarian, Neville Carrick. For an example of help to black writers see below p.00.
40. P.28.
41. Pp.26-7.
42. Judith Edwards, *Working Class Adult Education in Liverpool: a Radical Approach* (1986). For a summary account see A.H. Charnley, V.K. McGivney, and D.J. Sims, *Education for the Adult Unemployed* (1985), pp.102-5.
43. Edwards, *op.cit.*, Ch.7.
44. *Op. cit.*, p.vi.
45. *Op. cit.*, p.73.
46. *Op. cit.*, pp.18, 89, 101.

47. *Op. cit.*, p.8.
48. The detailed results of the 1983 research were reproduced in duplicated form as *Second Chance to Learn: After the Course?*
49. See above, p.27.
50. *Second Chance to Learn handbook*, 1982-83.
51. The first Writers' Workshop in Liverpool 8 (for a long time a very successful one) was formed in 1976 on the initiative of Dorothy Kuya, a community relations worker, and was mainly for blacks.
52. The story is told by Jane King, "A Mass of Material", in *Disadvantage in Education*, Vol.I, No.2 (Jan. 1977), pp.19-23; and more fully in two accounts by David Evans: "Writers' Workshops and Adult Education in the Inner City", in *International Journal of University Adult Education*, Vol.XVIII, No.3 (1979), pp.41-54; and "Writers' Workshops and Working-Class Culture", in Jane L. Thompson (ed.), *Adult Education for a Change* (1980), pp.141-54. These accounts include many moving and illuminating examples of students' writing. David Evans has also kindly supplied me with information regarding some recent developments.
53. David Evans to the author, 27 June 1987.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Keith Birch (ed.), *Writing in Merseyside* (1986), p.12.
56. *Op. cit.*, p.11.
57. *Op. cit.*, p.8. A report under the same title, by Ron Travis of the City Library, reviews the whole Writing in Merseyside project, and makes proposals for further development, stressing the potential role of the library service.
58. G. Fowler, "Recurrent Education", in *Adult Education*, Vol.XLVIII, No.2 (July 1975), p.74.
59. K.H. Lawson, "Learning Situations or Educational Situations?" in *Adult Education*, Vol. XLVII, No.2 (July 1974), p.91. This article was later republished as Chap.3 of Lawson's *Philosophical Concepts and Values in Adult Education* (Nottingham University Department of Adult Education 1975, Open University 1979).

60. See above, p.16.
61. R.W.K. Paterson, "Social Change as an Educational Aim", in *Adult Education*, Vol.XLV, No.6 (Mar. 1973), p.335. The argument is supported by Lawson in his *Philosophical Concepts and Values*, Chap.4.
62. P. Joyce, "Education and Social Change" in *Adult Education*, Vol.XLVI, No.3 (Sept. 1973), p.171.
63. Paterson, *loc. cit.*
64. Department of Education and Science, *Adult Education: a Plan for Development* (1973), p.12.
65. I need not pursue here the case for separate instruction on political issues - often argued but for some reason never popular. On present provision and future possibilities in Liverpool see the chapters by F.F. Ridley and Rita Cordon in Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education, *Political Education for Adults* (1983).
66. This problem is sympathetically discussed by John Harrison, "Community Work and Adult Education", in *Studies in Adult Education*, Vol.VII, No.1 Apr. 1974, espec. pp.64-5.
67. I borrow the metaphor from J.E. Thomas, *Radical Adult Education: Theory and Practice* (1982), pp.6-7.
68. See above, p.24.
69. See above, p.18.

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